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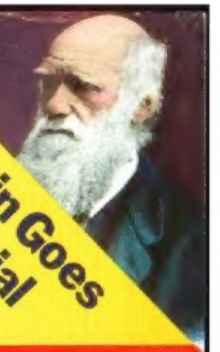

Darwin Goes On Trial Again

Taking Command

The World According to Haig

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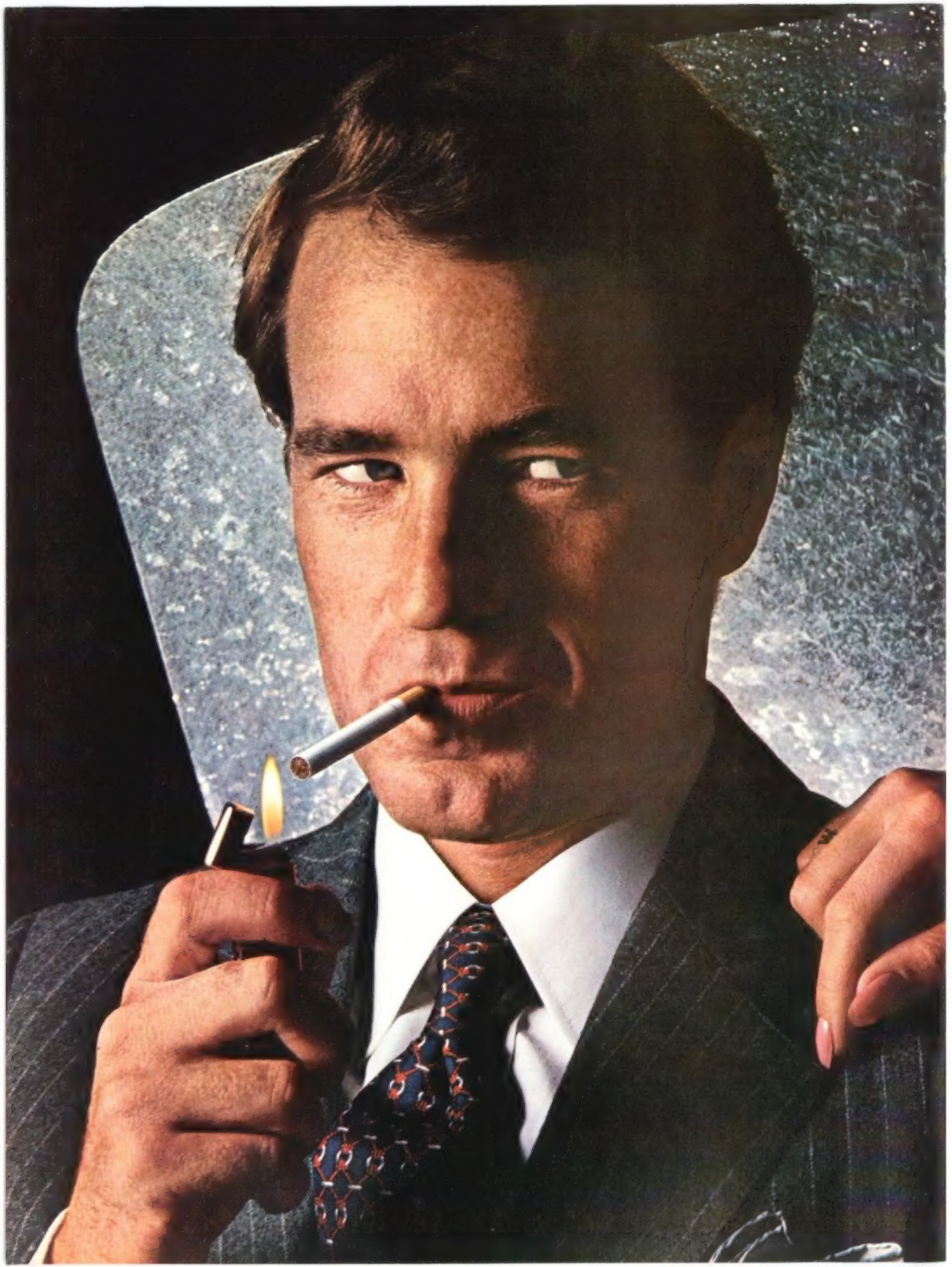

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MARCH 16, 1981 Vol. 117 No. 11 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

Foreign correspondents spend much of their lives dashing off to wars and disasters, sending back the news as fast as they can gather it. This is exciting, even romantic —but often an even more stimulating challenge comes with being freed from deadlines to take a longer and closer look at the cultural and political forces at work in various areas of the world. In the past two years, TIME correspondents have made extended reporting tours of Central America, Southeast Asia, West Africa, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. For this week's detailed portrait of Saudi Arabia, Middle East Bureau Chief William Stewart spent nearly five weeks traveling through the desert state. "The purof these geographic profiles is to break the pattern of traveling only to crises and get to the deeper story," explains Chief of Correspondents Richard Duncan.

Stewart, who made two relatively short trips to Saudi Arabia in 1974 and 1975, began his latest visit in Taif, where he covered the Third Islamic Summit and interviewed Foreign Minister Saud Al Faisal. After that, Stewart was on his own. Says he: "One of the satisfactions in doing a story that has no hard-news pressures is the kind of discovery that only time and attention to detail permit." In Saudi Arabia sharp and unexpected regional differences became evident to Stewart at once. "Jidda is very much a port town, devoted to commerce and much more relaxed than the interior," he says. "In Riyadh, the capital and heart of the House of Saud, the hotels are quiet and the restaurants muted. The religious police patrol the streets, sometimes urging the faithful to prayer by hitting gently at their ankles with switches. Until the 1950s, foreigners —even Arab foreigners—could visit Riyadh only by royal invitation." Stewart was startled by the pace of change in the country. Says he: "Today more Bedouin tribesmen live in villas than in tents. The nomadic way of life is dying —and not without regrets."

KHALID KHIDR

Correspondent Stewart with a Saudi official

In the southwestern province of Asir, Stewart and Photographer Robert Azzi sampled the breathtaking highland views and watched a modern national park being carved out of the mountains. Yet despite such natural wonders, Stewart feels that Saudi Arabia's greatest resource is its people. "Initial contacts can be difficult to make, but once you are known, you are regarded as a friend," he says. "In all the Arab world, I have never been treated with greater kindness."

John a. Meyer

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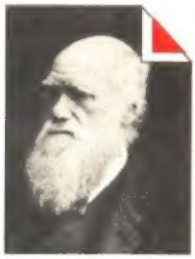

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Letters

Renew America

To the Editors:

Congratulations for the inspiring presentation of American Renewal [Feb. 23]. At last we are having a national conversation that is worthy of our intelligence, our courage, our commitment to democracy, and worthy of being overheard by our children. I am grateful, I am moved, I am scared by the ideas that some people have, and I am exhilarated by the problems and opportunities before us.

Jonette Christian
Boston

You offer a sober assessment of the state of the nation, as well as realistic options for the future. We have not been willing to dedicate ourselves to change, yet change is overpowering us. Does anyone think we can't alter the future? We do so every day, through our advocacy or our complacency. Accepting reality doesn't have to mean shelving cherished values and institutions, but it does mean making them work.

Eugene F. Cocco
Lansdale, Pa.

Editor in Chief Henry Grunwald says Americans have "the odd conviction that their country is still an experiment." The idea of the democratic experiment is one so central to our survival that it must be engraved on our consciousness.

Periodic "renewals" are endemic to the American way of life at all levels. We live in flux, have always done so, and probably always will. Therefore, while I applaud your articles, I wish that the idea of the experiment had been more central to them.

James Quinn
New York City

Mr. Grunwald's comment about "hysterical fears of nuclear power" convinces me that he does not understand that there is no middle ground in this issue. Sometimes something is clearly wrong. Nuclear power is a financial burden for the economy. It destroys the environment, indirectly challenges many liberties and is just too much of a risk.

Rick Klimowicz
South Orange, N.J.

Lance Morrow deserves recognition for his touching definition of child rearing as "the most profoundly humanizing and civilizing of all worldly experiences." As a graduate of adolescence in the '60s, I assure Mr. Morrow that his assessment is perfectly tuned. Many of my peers have become remarkably good parents, bungling through the familiar territory their parents did. Like them, we are making mistakes and being human, to the dismay of our tolerance-strained offspring. My generation is reconciled to our parents, and have a lot of love to give.

Margaret Berman
North Miami Beach, Fla.

Your American Renewal project is one of the finest undertakings I've ever seen in journalism.

Albert Gore Jr., Congressman
Fourth District, Tennessee
Washington, D.C.

Underlying most of the policies that you advocate is the assumed necessity for economic growth. Capitalist industrial economies require for their growth a continuous influx of new resources, a condition that no longer exists in the world. Only economic systems that are oriented to people and to ecology can avoid disaster.

Greg Gerritt
Industry, Me.

You deserve credit for taking a narrow economic position—reindustrialization and revitalization of the economy—and developing that approach into what it ought to be: a national agenda and a society-wide renewal.

Amitai Etzioni
Washington, D.C.

Five years ago, we started a new company, because we still believed in America. This reader, then 60, was the youngest partner. We have fought against foreign imports at prices and terms we could not meet, but refused Government help. Rather, we looked for new ideas.

We have repaid 75% of our bank loans, and while the future still looks tough, we will not give up. This is the thrill of our system, and it upsets me to hear self-interest groups, including the aged, fighting for increased benefits at the expense of the workers. To prosper we must labor harder and sacrifice for the good of all.

Douglas McDowell, President
Tabor Yarn Corp.
Philadelphia

You dismiss the advantages of a parliamentary form of government for the U.S. as going "one step too far." Our system of checks and balances, designed by a frontier community at a time of deep distrust of both royal executive prerogatives and the tyranny of the masses, has become an anachronism. This generation has witnessed the debilitating spectacle of a President trying to operate with a Congress controlled by the opposition. Will it take a political Mount St. Helens to blast us into recognizing the need for a more effective way of governing ourselves?

Richard A. Buffum
Arlington, Va.

TIME's splendid issue on American Renewal is marred by its reaction to the proposal for a six-year presidential term with re-election ineligibility. TIME says, "The argument [for a six-year term] is not persuasive. It is a misguided attempt to depoliticize the White House."

In the first or last year of his tenure, any President who wants to pass a bill, build a budget, construct a program, negotiate a treaty or persuade the Congress must be political or else he is impotent. Anyone who has ever worked in the White House knows that no sooner is the newly elected occupant settled in his chair than he is running for re-election. The six-year term would allow the Oval Office to take nasty alternatives. As the issues get tougher, as the nation's leader hunkers down under the daily assault of the press, his opponents and the intransigence of his daily challenges, the six-year term becomes more attractive.

Too many wise and thoughtful observers of the presidential arena believe the six-year term is an idea that should not be casually dismissed.

Jack Valenti, President
Motion Picture Association of America
Washington, D.C.

The need for an American Renewal will not be helped by a resumption of the draft. The notion that we will have a better, more fit Army if it's made up of unwilling soldiers is absurd. The task of national leadership is to restore the love our people have for our system, not to widen the schism of misunderstanding by again pitting generation against generation.

Hal Plotkin
Palo Alto, Calif.

Your proposal to revive the draft is outrageously demeaning to women. You assign women the same status as cripples and exempt them altogether from conscription. Women should not be sheltered from the hardships—or deprived of the benefits—of military service. Only when women share equal responsibilities with men will they be treated as equal citizens.

Laura E. Ard
Cambridge, Mass.

Rather than just the draft, let's use universal public service, which would provide supplemental workers in hospitals, mental institutions, homes for the elderly

Letters

and child care facilities. Military service would be a breeze compared with serving in our state institutions.

Peter Silvia
Princeton, N.J.

You advocate a return to the draft. Good. You have more courage than my political party, the Republicans. In spite of winning the campaign, the party stupidly blusters about a strong national defense policy, yet refuses to go along with conscription.

Frank Davis
Redondo Beach, Calif.

Reign of Terror

Chief Justice Warren Burger's speech on crime's "reign of terror" at the American Bar Association convention [Feb. 23] was characteristically wishy-washy. At the same time that he cited the deterrent effect of swift and certain consequences, he told us the war on crime "will not be won simply by harsher sentences."

The Chief Justice stresses measures that will increase the likelihood of getting caught (more police) and of speeding prosecution (more judges). Unfortunately, he does not call for increasing the severity of penalties.

Stephen J. Kasabuski
Northridge, Calif.

Isn't it ironic that the "experts" found so many reasons why Burger's blast at the "reign of terror" would be unconstitutional? The real miscarriage of justice is that the legal profession benefits more from the criminal than the victim. Consequently, the criminals are better served.

Walter Airel
Geneseo, N.Y.

To Save a Life

The most recent calamitous hotel fire in Las Vegas [Feb. 23] once again emphasizes the need for protection against death from smoke asphyxiation. Would it not be feasible to install in each hotel room simple gas masks and instructions for their use? This would give guests those extra vital minutes in which to escape or be rescued.

Paul B.W. Gollong
Greenwich, Conn.

A simple method by which people can protect themselves in the event of a hotel fire is to supply each room with a plastic hose that could be attached to a water outlet in the bathroom. The hose could be used to wet down a room completely.

Charles Gillman
Baltimore

Share the Wealth

If Ron and Patricia Zobel had filed their legal challenge to Alaska's wealth distribution schemes as a class-action suit [Feb. 16], they would have quickly learned that others are in sympathy with them. Not all Alaskans are as greedy, cruel or constitutionally ignorant as those who have amused themselves by abusing this courageous couple.

Lee Davis
Anchorage

It is not surprising that Alaskans haven't changed in the 83 years since the great gold rush. Nor should it be surprising that the Zobels are being treated as claim jumpers.

The "cheechakos" of 1898 invaded Alaska for the gold and other wealth that were abundant; any later cheechakos were looked upon as claim jumpers and treated as such. The Zobels and other newcomers who arrived after the passage of the great Alaskan oil-revenues rebate are not asking for the world. They just want their 10%, like all the other cheechakos who came before them.

Nona Taylor
Seattle

Choice for Brilliant Women

The "admission" of Author Marguerite Yourcenar to the company of "immortals," the Académie Française [Feb. 16], points up the two choices that are open to brilliant women who are praised belatedly and paternalistically. They can either refuse the honor on the ground that it is unacceptable from such groups, or accept it in order to set a precedent for others. Virginia Woolf responded to many universities offering honorary degrees in the first way. Yourcenar has replied in the second. If I were she, I would have suggested where the monkeys might put their peanuts. Judging from your article, however, I am not nearly as nice as Marguerite Yourcenar.

John Glyphis
Montpellier, France

Bloom's Giveaway

Hats off to Paul Bloom for distributing $4 million to four charities [Feb. 23]. Our country should use more public servants who can pinpoint the problem, slash the red tape and accomplish a worthwhile deed even though the Government hierarchy is indignant and outraged at his action.

Roselyn D. Silverman
Seymour L. Silverman
Washington, D.C.

Bloom's great giveaway of $4 million from an oil company settlement to charitable organizations was a wonderful switch from Abscam.

Connie Makris
Lowell, Mass.

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On practice alert, an eight-engine Strategic Air Command B-52 bores through the sky over the Canadian wilderness MARK MEYER

American Scene

In North Dakota: View from a BUFF

This ancient bomber is groping upward, electronically blind, attempting to join five others stacked in layers just 500 ft. apart. At 10,000 ft. the sky is an inkwell, and the primary and back-up heading systems are out. The radar works sporadically, and even when it does function, it provides tunnel vision, off to one side. The only dependable navigation aid is a simple compass, just like the ones people stick on the dashboards of their cars.

The pilot and copilot, Don Schlaht and Dave Maher, swivel their helmeted heads, straining to pick up the flashing lights of the other planes, their own faces dimly lit by the soft red glow from the instrument panel. As the minutes pass, tension shows around their eyes. Schlaht begins to think he will have to turn back to base. We are in a plane that can carry more explosive power than was set off by all the participants of World War II. It looks like a flying shark, and is equipped with electronic gadgets that allow it to make a precision bombing run at midnight in the middle of a blizzard—when they work. Navigator John Kyme has crawled under the instrument panel, into the "wine cellar," with a handful of small tools and a look of determination. "I don't know where to begin," he says. "But we'll take it one step at a time."

NOR-08, the plane's code name for this training exercise, is the last and most modern of the B-52s to come off the Boeing line. It has 9,050 flying hours on it, though. If it were human, it would be old enough to vote and buy liquor in any state. To air crews the B-52 is known as BUFF, a fairly loving acronym that stands for Big Ugly Fat Fellow. But there are Air Force men who think it should have been put out to pasture long ago in the Arizona desert, along with the retired squadrons of B-29s and B-50s. Some of them are hoping for a variant of the expensive but supersonic B-1 bomber, especially in view of the new Administration's defense policy.

Takeoff was from Minot Air Force Base in North Dakota. It was perilously near the wind-chill factor of 65° F below —the point at which ground crews are excused from outdoor maintenance. Seven BUFFs and three KC-135 tankers were scheduled to roar aloft at 7 a.m., just as 390 other Strategic Air Command planes took the air, in less than ten minutes, from 69 other bases in the continental U.S. and Guam. The mission: a simulated launch in the face of a Soviet missile attack, part of a readiness exercise called Global Shield. It was the biggest mass launch in SAC's 35-year history.

One BUFF and one tanker aborted on the ground, victims of a balky generator and an engine "trouble" light that would not go out. A second B-52 had to quit formation; its right front-landing gear would not retract, so it could not keep up. Officially, the Air Force has high confidence in these old planes and the young men who fly them. Despite the much vaunted Soviet air defense network, they believe the B-52s can get through, take out their targets, and perhaps even return to base. Or what's left of it. "The advantage is with the offense," insists Brigadier General John A. Shaud, commander of SAC's 57th Air Division. The crews are not so sure. Do you think you could get through to your target? a B-52 electronic warfare officer is asked. "Not really," he says. "If the Soviet equipment works the way it's supposed to, a lot of us don't want to go to war," says another.

But apocalyptic speculation has been left behind in the rush of business, the minute-by-minute need to cope with a 448,000-lb., $15 million aircraft. And things soon go better for NOR-08. Kyme manages to work out most of the bugs in the navigational gear. "See how this airplane heals itself?" Kyme says cheerily on the intercom. Someone else chimes in, "Well, the urinal works."

By 10 o'clock, in fact, the plane is orbiting 24,000 ft. over Lake Thabaska in Canada. The sky is clear and bright, and every man concentrates on getting to the final target. Meanwhile, the two men known as "defense"—the electronic warfare officer and the gunner—are preparing to elude Soviet SAMs and MiGs. The e.w. officer is leaning toward the bank of transmitters, designed to jam enemy radar as NOR-08 makes her approach. One transmitter is down, but no problem. The other 15 are working.

At 10:18, NOR-08 breaks out of orbit and streaks south at 320 knots toward a low-level run over two tiny, almost featureless snow-covered lakes in a desolate Canadian wilderness dotted with thousands just like it. At 10:38, the plane settles to 3,700 ft. Ten minutes later, the navigator calls out: "You're cleared t.a.," meaning the pilot can take it down to 500 ft. At that height he must rely on his own skills, and t.a. (for terrain-avoidance radar), to save the ship from a possible 380-knot collision with trees and hills.

It is like roaring down a pot-holed washboard road in an old car with bad shocks, this surging, bucking run to the target. The pine trees seem so close, you could reach down and grab a handful of needles as they blur beneath the nose. The bomb bay doors come open. Together, Schlaht and the navigators aim the plane over the first lake. "Bomb away." It is spoken without drama, a simple statement of fact. There is no bomb, of course. Only a pair of cameras, that record the exact point of impact, had a bomb been released. It's a bit like blasting those enemy spaceships on an Atari TV game. The crew of NOR-08 is sure they have "shacked" the lake, putting the imaginary bomb within the 3,000-ft. radius considered satisfactory shooting for nuclear crews. As to the second lake, they're not so sure. Later, strike photos show the first attack was on target, the second 30 seconds too soon, a nuclear near miss that put a theoretical bomb into a whole other lake.

In what the crew calls "the real world," meaning World War III, targets would be more identifiable. Crews would have studied them for months in advance. At 12:54 p.m. the Minot runway is in sight. Six hours after it began, the mission is ended. In the real world it might have taken 18 hours just to reach the target. *—By Don Sider*

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TIME MARCH 16, 1981

Playing for High Stakes

Reagan dispatches more "trainers" to El Salvador

The distinctive whack-whacking of a helicopter's rotors broke the still air above the sleepy little town of La Unión in eastern El Salvador last week. When it landed, out stepped five U.S. Navy men in civilian dress—the latest contingent of "trainers" sent to El Salvador by Washington. The next day, four men in a gray Toyota pickup truck swerved past the U.S. embassy in San Salvador and raked the bunker-like building with gunfire. No one was injured, no shots were fired back, and the truck quickly sped off. Meanwhile, in cities across the U.S., opponents of American aid to El Salvador's military-civilian junta laid plans for teach-ins, marches, vigils and hunger strikes. It all had a familiar ring.

"Well, my adviser is Uncle Sam, and Uncle Sam says"

But it should not have. El Salvador is clearly not another Viet Nam. The superficial parallels are outweighed by some very real differences. Among them: El Salvador is not a sprawling jungle 8,000 miles from American shores, the junta is conscientiously trying to carry out an agrarian reform program, and the 4,000 leftist guerrillas are not backed by a force the size of the North Vietnamese army. Nonetheless, President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig have invested high stakes in a guerrilla war in a republic the size of Massachusetts. By waging a campaign against "indirect armed aggression" of foreign Communists who are smuggling arms to El Salvador's leftist guerrillas, the Reagan Administration is signaling to the world that a line is being drawn against Soviet expansionism. "The terrorists aren't just aiming at El Salvador," explained Reagan in a White House press conference last week. "They are aiming at the whole of Central and possibly later South America and, I'm sure, eventually North America. What we're doing is trying to stop this destabilizing force of guerrilla warfare and revolution from being exported in here."

As part of its plan to counter subversion in El Salvador, the Reagan Administration announced last week that it was sending 20 more advisers and $25 million in equipment to the Salvadoran government. This brings the total number of U.S. military personnel in El Salvador to 54. In an interview with outgoing CBS Correspondent Walter Cronkite, Reagan stressed the "technicality" that these men would not really be "advisers," but members of "training teams" similar to those working in some 30 foreign countries. Said Reagan: "I certainly don't see any likelihood of us going in with fighting forces."

Yet there was fear on Capitol Hill that the Reagan Administration might be taking its first step into another Big Muddy. Said Democratic Senator John Glenn of Ohio: "I'm not against sending in arms. I get flags up about sending our people in." Said Representative Jonathan Bingham of New York after attending a briefing by Haig: "It reminded me very much of the meetings I had with General William Westmoreland over Viet Nam. We start out with advisers and they turn into combat advisers and then into ground troops." But most Congressmen appear willing to let Reagan have his way, and no serious attempt is expected to block the dispatch of the advisers.

Still, opposition to U.S. involvement in El Salvador is growing. Twenty nuns staged a sit-in at the Boston office of House Speaker Tip O'Neill to discuss the situation; O'Neill finally met with them last week. Carrying signs reading U.S. GUNS KILL U.S. NUNS* and NO TAX DOLLARS FOR MURDER, more than 400 people marched outside the Federal Building in Los Angeles. Many of the protests are being organized by the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), a Washington-based group that is openly sympathetic to the guerrillas. CISPES is sponsoring a hunger strike in 30 cities on March 22 and a National Solidarity Day on April 18.

Administration officials are deeply concerned that the junta, which has undertaken an ambitious land reform program, could be unseated at any time by a rightist-led coup. Those fears were heightened last week when Roberto D'Aubuisson, 37, a former national guard intelligence officer and prominent rightist leader, held a press conference in San Salvador. Wearing a blue baseball cap with laurel leaves and sporting a silver dagger at his side, D'Aubuisson warned that a coup was imminent, adding ominously, "March seems a good month." He contended that the Reagan Administration would support such a coup, and claimed to have held several meetings over the past year with "members of Reagan's group," including Roger Fontaine, now a member of the National Security Council.

The attack on the U.S. embassy took place next day. Officials in both Washington and San Salvador interpreted the strike as a warning by D'Aubuisson to the U.S. not to oppose a coup. José Napoleón Duarte, the Christian Democratic

*Three American nuns and a lay religious worker were murdered in El Salvador last December by a right-wing death squad. Though the junta's investigation into the deaths has been sluggish, John Bushnell, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, defended the inquiry last week as "thorough."

president of the junta, immediately ordered D'Aubuisson's arrest. Administration officials vehemently denied that they supported a coup. Said Reagan: "We are opposed to terrorism of the right or left. It would be of the gravest concern to us if there were such a thing [as a coup]."

El Salvador's Defense Minister José Guillermo García subsequently asserted that D'Aubuisson's threat of a coup was nothing more than a "siren song." Said García: "You can discount the possibility of a coup. The armed forces support the government totally the way it is now."

At a swearing-in ceremony for members of a new electoral commission, Duarte promised that El Salvador in 1982 would hold its first free and honest elections in 50 years. Though Duarte has steadfastly rejected any negotiated settlement with the leftists, he expressed his willingness last week to hold a "dialogue," adding that "dialogue does not signify negotiation." Reports circulated throughout San Salvador last week that Duarte was planning to fly to West Germany to see former Chancellor Willy Brandt, whose Social Democratic Party favors a negotiated settlement. Though Duarte denied the report, he remained tantalizingly ambiguous. Said he: "For the moment I have made no decision to go to Europe, and any speculation about that is just speculation."

Meanwhile, Duarte extended for another 30 days, until April 11, an amnesty period for guerrillas to surrender. He also emphasized the importance of economic as well as military aid from Washington. The Reagan Administration, however, is reluctant to approve a large aid package at this time. Says a senior State Department official: "Big economic aid will be money down a rathole if it goes to an environment that is totally unstable."

The war continued to simmer. Salvadoran troops moved in and cleared guerrillas off the Conchagua volcano, near La Unión. The 700 gunmen reportedly stationed there had retreated long before the assault was finished. Government forces also regained control of the tiny town of San Antonio de Los Ranchos in Chalatenango, nearly completing the recapture of villages seized by the guerrillas in their failed January offensive

Peasants in the parched countryside report that many of the revolutionary bands are near starvation, but it is too early to dismiss the leftist cause. The rebels are said to be regrouping and waiting for the May rainy season to launch new attacks. They continue to blow up a power line here and cut telephone wires there in the sort of skirmishing that can drag on interminably, with neither side able to claim victory. "The army has fought the guerrillas to a draw," said one U.S. official in San Salvador last week. "The conflict could now go on as a war of attrition for a long, long time." *—By James Kelly. Reported by Bernard Diederich/San Salvador and Roberto Suro/Washington*

BERNARD D. EDERICH

Navy trainers, one of them (center) carrying rifle, arrive in El Salvador

Supply Line for a Junta

"No pictures, no pictures," shouted the black U.S. Marine sergeant to a group of photographers waiting at Ilopan-go Air Force Base on the outskirts of San Salvador, the capital of El Salvador. The sergeant, a helicopter maintenance mechanic, is understandably camera shy: as one of the 19 Americans sent to El Salvador by the Carter Administration last January, he is a prime target for leftist guerrillas. Anonymity is his best defense.

Those 19 trainers were joined in El Salvador last week by a six-man naval training team that will help repair engines and radar equipment on Salvadoran patrol boats. The Reagan Administration is also sending four five-man training teams within the next few weeks to instruct Salvadoran troops in such subjects as intelligence, combat techniques and the use and maintenance of helicopters. The trainers, for the most part, are senior noncommissioned officers who speak some Spanish; many have served on training teams in other Latin American countries or at U.S. Army bases in Panama.

The training of Salvadoran troops by the U.S. began in early 1980 at Fort Gulick in Panama, where the School of the Americas specializes in teaching antiguerrilla warfare. At the urging of the Carter Administration, school officials designed a special curriculum for the Salvadorans. Formally titled "Aspects of Human Rights in Internal Defense and Development," the three-week course offers basic training in how to search and take a prisoner, with special emphasis on protecting the prisoner's rights. Some 250 Salvadorans took the course last year, and another 150 are expected to graduate this year. One recent visitor to a session of the course listened as an instructor asked his Salvadoran NCO students: "Even if we think that the person whose house we are going to search is a guerrilla, do we still have to establish a friendly atmosphere when we question him?" The instructor's rhetorical reply: "Absolutely."

U.S. copter landing in La Unión

The U.S. is also readying some $25 million in new equipment for El Salvador, including helicopters, vehicles, radar and surveillance equipment, and small arms. But El Salvador's greatest need may be more ships for its modest navy: only three of its eight aging patrol boats are seaworthy. The navy's futility is proved by how poorly it patrols the waters between El Salvador and Nicaragua, the route by which many arms shipments are smuggled to the guerrillas. When asked how many shipments the navy halted this year and last, Salvadoran Coast Guard Officer Nelson Angulo formed a circle with two fingers and said simply, "Zero."

The intense, self-assured man who is out to stop Soviet expansionism: Secretary of State Alexander Meigs Haig Jr.

COVER STORY

The "Vicar" Takes Charge

Shaping foreign policy for a decade of risks and challenges

The meeting in the Oval Office was private, but after it ended White House aides invited photographers to snap pictures of Ronald Reagan and his Secretary of State. Explained one staffer: "We need to show that the Secretary has access to Reagan." Replied another: "You've got it wrong. We need to show that the President has access to Al Haig."

The gag has a point. Rarely has a new Secretary of State moved so swiftly to take control of foreign policy as Alexander Meigs Haig Jr., 56—former White House Chief of Staff in the darkest days of Watergate, former NATO commander, soldier-bureaucrat-diplomat whose self-assurance is matched only by his iron will. Said liberal Democratic Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachussetts, toward the close of Haig's confirmation hearings in January: "He will use this talent to dominate this Administration."

If not, it will hardly be for lack of trying. Shortly after Reagan announced his nomination in December, Haig signaled his take-charge determination by dismissing members of the transition team that had been studying foreign policy; he consigned its uninspired reports to a shredder. Only hours after Reagan took the Inaugural oath, Haig handed Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese a memo proposing a reorganization of foreign policy decision-making machinery that would make the Secretary of State supreme; two weeks ago, Reagan approved a directive giving Haig most, though not quite all, of the power he wanted. Faster than any other Cabinet member, Haig picked a nearly complete team of subordinates. Reagan last week formally nominated several of them, despite objections from conservatives in Congress who consider the lieutenants—like Haig himself—too deeply rooted in the Kissinger era of détente

But organization is only the opening skirmish. Now comes the true campaign: devising a foreign policy to meet the challenges of what Haig sees as the supremely risky world of the 1980s. Since the Administration has been preoccupied with the domestic economy, its foreign policy is more a set of attitudes than a series of thought-out positions. But if the specifics are still unclear, the overall approach is not. Haig began spelling it out in speeches while he was still NATO commander; his ideas dovetail so neatly with Reagan's that the President hardly considered anyone else as his No. 1 foreign policymaker (or, as Haig calls it, the President's "vicar" in this area). The essence of their combined view: the prime threat to peace and stability in the world is Soviet expansionism, and the U.S. must restore the confidence of its allies and the entire free world that it can and will contain such aggression

In Haig's eyes, U.S. policy since Viet Nam has often seemed—and been —"confused with respect to the priorities we should establish" and disposed "to abhor anything military." Power in the world, to some extent, "has become dif-

Photographs for TIME by David Hume Kennerly

With National Security Adviser Allen

His relaxation: a tennis match in Virginia

The Washington rounds: with Wife Patricia; conferring with Reagan in the Oval Office; visiting House Speaker O'Neill

fused over 150 nations," creating a climate of severe instability.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has transformed its military power "from a continental and largely defensive land army to a global offensive army, navy and air force fully capable of supporting an imperial foreign policy." With the help of such clients as Cuba, East Germany and Viet Nam, the Soviets have set out to exploit instability, with distressing success in Angola, Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa and Central America. Moreover, Soviet adventurism may well become more dangerous when the aging leaders of the Kremlin are succeeded by a new generation that has known only expanding power. At a private dinner celebrating his confirmation by the Senate as Secretary of State, Haig told friends, "Every night I pray that [Soviet President Leonid] Brezhnev stays healthy and alive for a good while to come—at least until we have caught up with the Soviet Union. Because if he goes suddenly, I believe that the young ones waiting in the wings will take over. They have never known war: to them, Stalingrad is the title of a movie. They have never known poverty such as the world experienced during the Great Depression. They are in a very expansive mood, and the longer they wait their turn the better off we all will be."

Even the present Soviet leaders, says Haig, "are never influenced by Western rhetoric . . . They are influenced by Western deeds." So their drive to expand Communist power and influence must be checked by a U.S. policy bearing three prime characteristics: consistency ("Effective policy cannot be created anew daily, informed solely by immediate need"); reliability ("American power and prestige should not be lightly committed but once made, that commitment must be honored"); and balance. Haig defines balance as the ability to "reconcile a variety of pressures, often competing." For example, he believes that balance requires the U.S. both to negotiate for arms control and to build up its own military power.

A rapid expansion of American military might is fundamental to the foreign policy that Reagan and Haig are shaping. Some other fundamental principles: the U.S. must forge closer relations with its allies; in particular, it must persuade the NATO countries to cooperate with it in countering Soviet threats outside Europe. It must support friendly anti-Communist governments throughout the world, instead of publicly nagging them to observe U.S. standards of human rights.

The de-emphasis of human rights as a standard to determine which nations qualify for American assistance is one of the most striking changes in the Reagan Administration's approach to foreign policy. The Carter Administration had frequently threatened a cutoff of aid to foreign governments accused of trampling on human rights. But Reagan last month lifted economic sanctions, which had been imposed on Chile when the Pinochet regime refused to cooperate in an investigation into the outrageous assassination in Washington, D.C., of former Chilean Diplomat Orlando Letelier. Earlier Reagan welcomed to the White House Chun Doo Hwan, President of South Korea, a nation deservedly criticized by Carter policymakers for its human rights violations.

In the Reagan Administration's view, overemphasis on human rights only undermines "authoritarian" regimes that have a capacity for change, and increases the chance that they will be succeeded by "totalitarian" governments—specifically, Communist ones—that obliterate human rights altogether. Says Ernest W. Lefever, who has been selected as Haig's top assistant for human rights policy: "There is, for example, more freedom and cultural vitality in Chile—even under its present state of siege—than in Cuba." Haig shares this view. The Administration's principal human rights objective, he says, will be to combat "terrorism," which very definitely includes Soviet support of guerrilla insurgencies in non-Communist

states.* The new policy, however, runs a serious risk of committing the U.S. to the support of regimes that might lose their popular backing.

All the major themes of the new foreign policy come together in El Salvador. Indeed, the decision to transform the guerrilla war in that country into a major trial of will was made in part to draw the sharpest contrast between the Carter and Reagan approaches to foreign affairs. Carter and his advisers sought to play down American-Soviet rivalry in the Third World, and to adapt to revolutionary change rather than fight it. But to Reagan and Haig there is unmistakable evidence—and so far the evidence has not been disputed outside the Communist world—that Salvadoran guerrillas have been receiving arms smuggled in from Communist countries through Cuba and Nicaragua. Thus El Salvador became the test case of U.S. determination and ability to draw the line against Red subversion.

Moreover, the Administration chose not just to demand a cutoff of the arms flow. It also gave all-out support to the shaky military-civilian junta now ruling El Salvador, sending not only American weapons but military training personnel. If that help enables the junta to prevail, the U.S. would indeed have broken a string of American setbacks and Communist successes. But if the junta should fall, either to the leftist guerrillas or —equally bad—to a coup by rightists misusing American aid, Washington would suffer an unnecessary setback round the world. The European allies and several friendly Latin American regimes, which agree with the goal of stopping the arms flow, might be confirmed in a budding suspicion that Washington is being ineffectively militaristic. Why is the Administration taking the extra risk? Says one policymaker: "We feel strongly that we must not be, or seem, equivocal. We don't want to stand up there and say: 'Well, too bad if the government falls; let's just roll with the punch.' That would be Carter-esque. We want to get out of the business of rolling with the punches, and if necessary start throwing some of our own."

If U.S. policy is clear in El Salvador, it is much less so in other areas of the world. Nor has Haig yet prevailed on several all-important questions; the Administration is still subject to divided counsel. A round-up of positions, lack of positions, prospects and problems:

Haig, at right, presides over policy planning session with some of his subordinates

A fast start toward winning the bureaucratic wars, but the outside world is waiting.

Negotiations with the Soviets. The Administration was clearly caught off guard by Brezhnev's unexpected proposal for a summit conference with Reagan, and is uncertain how to respond. While no U.S. official is pressing for an early summit, Haig is receptive to the idea of some kind of talks aimed at defining a "code of conduct" that the superpowers should obey. He knows that the European allies are especially eager for new talks on arms limitation, which would go hand in hand with a Western military buildup. At this point Haig would convey a far-from-specific message to the Soviets: If you want to enjoy the fruits of a relationship with the U.S. and its allies—trade, grain sales, arms control—you must modify your international behavior. But as he told TIME (*see* Interview), he feels it is in the interest of international stability not to "rush to summitry for summitry's sake."

Others in the Administration insist that no talks should be held until the U.S. is well launched into an arms buildup and the Soviets make conciliatory gestures. Some Reagan staffers even advocate breaking off the few links that now remain. Navy Secretary John Lehman last week argued that the U.S. should no longer honor the informal agreement whereby the U.S. and the Soviet Union continue to observe the terms of the SALT I treaty on control of strategic arms, which expired in 1977. The President seems uncertain: he said last week that the U.S. should not talk to the Soviets unless touchy subjects like Afghanistan are on the table. He also declined to make Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan a precondition for negotiations and indicated little hope of achieving such a withdrawal during negotiations. When to resume bargaining with the U.S.S.R., at what level, under what conditions and about which subjects is a matter on which the Administration simply has not made up its mind.

Relations with the Allies. They have improved markedly, thanks in no small part to the rapport Haig built up during his 4½ years as NATO commander. He is personally friendly with virtually every European foreign and defense minister. The allies are genuinely pleased that Washington seems about to pursue a clear and direct policy, and are delighted with the Reagan-Haig pledge to consult with them carefully before taking any major steps —a pledge that may or may not ever be fulfilled to their outspoken satisfaction. In particular, Washington is achieving a notable rapprochement with Paris after years of estrangement. But several allies have already expressed fear that the U.S. will take too unbending and militaristic a line around the world.

The Middle East. The U.S. has no policy as yet for dealing with Arab-Israeli tension. Haig, who will visit Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia next month, is essentially stalling until the outcome of the Israeli elections June 30, which might well bring in a government more flexible than the one now headed by Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Some European allies are concerned about the stalemate in the talks between Egypt and Israel on autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza. These allies are pressing their own initiative, involving negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, which the U.S. has scorned as a terrorist organization. More important, Haig views that area of the world essentially in terms of Persian Gulf security. He would like to establish in the region a military force that could counter Soviet moves or come to the aid of a friendly Arab government threatened by Communist subversion. There is a surprising amount of support for the idea among the allies, who have a

*Haig, as NATO commander, narrowly escaped death from a terrorist bomb in Belgium two years ago.

vital interest in keeping the oil-shipping lanes open. But some worry about being trapped in Middle East conflicts.

China. Haig is a strong advocate of closer relations with Peking. As a military man, he has gratefully noted the fact that a fourth of the Soviet Union's troops are tied down guarding the Chinese frontier, and thus unavailable for adventurism elsewhere. But he is getting flak from members of the White House staff who have deep sympathy for Taiwan, which is pushing the U.S. to sell it such advanced military equipment as F-16/79 fighters. Peking is furiously opposed. It will take all of Haig's bureaucratic and diplomatic skill to work out an equitable solution.

Poland. Haig has spent much time in his early weeks working out a strategy to deter a possible Soviet invasion. He has won general agreement from the European allies that breaking political and economic ties with the Soviet Union would be the appropriate response. How to shore up Poland so that it can maintain a tenuous independence from the U.S.S.R. is another question. The country is on the verge of economic collapse and needs $11 billion in new hard-currency credits to stay afloat, but Haig is unwilling to organize a Western rescue effort unless the Warsaw government promises to institute economic reforms.

Africa. In his TV interview with CBS Correspondent Walter Cronkite last week, the President sounded astonishingly sympathetic to South Africa. He referred to it as "a country that has stood by us in every war we've ever fought, a country that, strategically, is essential to the free world in its production of minerals." European allies are already afraid that the U.S., in the name of anti-Communism, may forge closer relations with the apartheid regime. That might lead the Pretoria government to continue stalling on independence for Namibia, slow any liberalization of apartheid laws in South Africa and stir substantial anti-U.S. sentiment throughout black Africa. Haig's aides insist that no policy has been set and that the Secretary fully understands that the issue is too complex to be seen in simple East-West terms. Says one: "This Administration will surprise you on the Third World."

Law of the Sea. Haig last week instructed the American delegation to a United Nations conference in New York not to finish drafting an international treaty at this session, because the Administration wanted to review its position. The move, coming just as the conference was about to open, was at least bad diplomatic manners: it startled and dismayed more than 1,000 delegates from 159 countries who had hoped to wrap up at last a treaty that has been under negotiation for seven years. The treaty is not necessarily doomed. It is opposed by U.S. mining interests, which complain that it does not as-

How a Policy Was Born

"Adversaries large and small test our will and seek to confound our resolve." So said Ronald Reagan in his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention last July. At that moment, half a world away, a Communist leader from El Salvador, Shafik Jorge Handal, was visiting Soviet-bloc countries in search of arms for his country's leftist guerrillas. In retrospect, the chain of events that made El Salvador the first focus of the new Administration's foreign policy seems inexorable.

This policy began to evolve in December, when Richard Allen and Jeane Kirkpatrick, two Reagan advisers with a keen interest in Latin America, told the President-elect that El Salvador would likely be his first testing ground. That month Allen met with the leader of the country's ruling military-civilian junta, José Napoleón Duarte, at Reagan transition headquarters in Washington. They discussed the possibility of increasing the U.S. aid to El Salvador that had been initiated in the waning days of the Carter Administration.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig took the lead in discussions about El Salvador after the new Administration was inaugurated. This was the place to try to halt Soviet adventurism, he argued. Some White House advisers—including top Aides James Baker and Edwin Meese—were initially reluctant to initiate a highly visible foreign policy thrust while the Administration was trying to focus attention on its economic program. But they succumbed to the argument, put by one top presidential aide: "You can't abdicate the conduct of foreign policy no matter what the domestic priorities are."

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

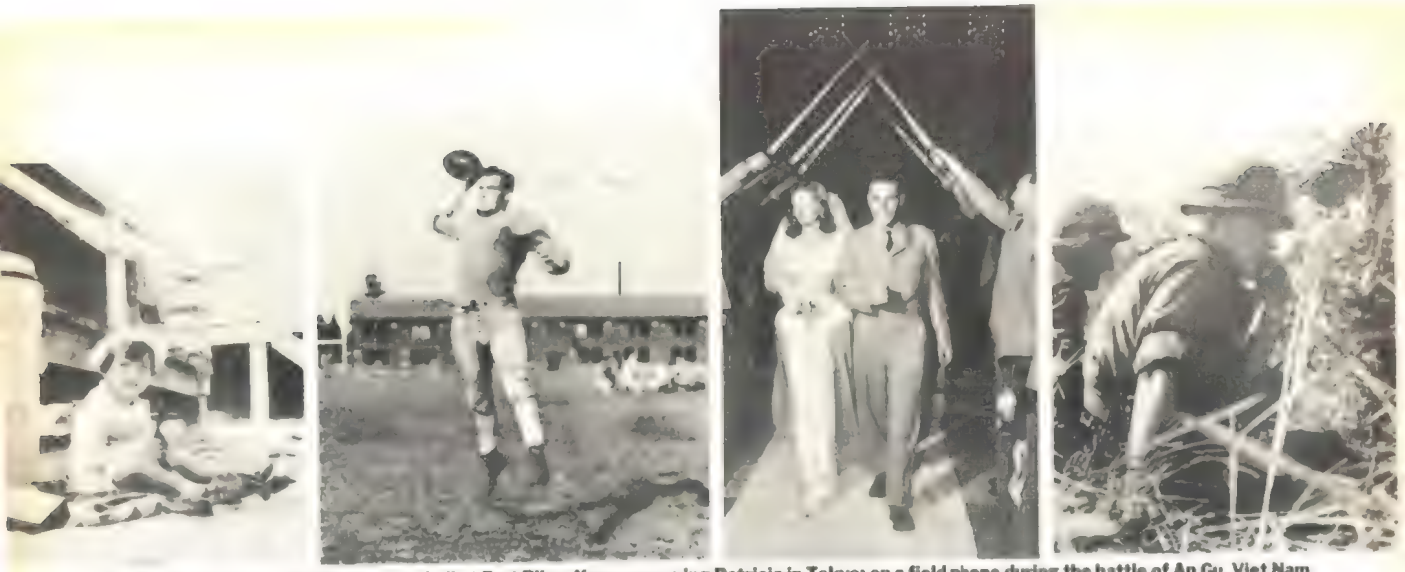
Haig at work in his State Department office

The Reagan Administration immediately decided to scrap the Carter policy of linking aid to El Salvador to the elimination of human rights abuses and to progress on land reforms promised by the junta. Instead, another form of linkage was instituted: Reagan and Haig publicly emphasized that since Cuba and other Soviet clients were supporting the rebels, the guerrilla war in El Salvador was not a local affair but part of a larger East-West struggle.

The Salvadoran army managed to crush the guerrillas' long-threatened "final offensive," which began in mid-January. Nonetheless, U.S. military experts concluded that the guerrillas still possessed a large cache of weapons and that the poorly trained, shoddily equipped army could not suppress the resistance entirely. A spectrum of options for helping the regime was considered, ranging from a proposal to provide massive American training for thousands of Salvadoran troops at camps in Panama or the U.S., to a plan for sending in as many as 100 advisers, who would train Salvadoran troops within the country and even accompany them on combat missions. Coordinating this review was a task force headed by James Cheek, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and a career Foreign Service officer. Cheek's task force reported to an interagency group that included representatives from State, Defense, the CIA and the National Security Council.

Though 150 Salvadoran soldiers will still undergo three weeks of training this year at an army school in Panama, the task force rejected the proposal to train larger numbers of troops outside the country. The move would take too many soldiers off active duty when they were sorely needed. Sending U.S. advisers into the field was considered very risky; the death of an American soldier in a skirmish with the guerrillas would clearly escalate protests that the U.S. was getting mired in another Viet Nam.

The final decision was made at the highest level, with Haig and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger actively involved. The plan: to station a limited number of American "trainers" in provincial garrisons with the Salvadoran military. They would be prevented from straying far from protected enclaves by what one top official called "the most strict operational guidelines that could be devised." An interagency group formulated the proposal in a decision memorandum; it was approved two weeks ago by the President at a meeting with the NSC.



On the beach at age four; playing football at Fort Riley, Kans.; marrying Patricia in Tokyo; on a field phone during the battle of Ap Gu, Viet Nam

sure them access to seabed minerals, but favored by the Pentagon because it allows fleets to sail unhindered through narrow straits

Haig's ability to define an effective policy for these tangled problems is untested. Though he has been involved in major national decisions for some 20 years, beginning as a Pentagon staffer in the Kennedy Administration, he has almost always been a No. 2 man, a brilliant executor of policy formulated by others rather than a setter of goals and priorities. He is pre-eminently a doer who has ascended to a post where he will also have to prove himself as a thinker.

He is not an easy man to judge; he sends out too many unexpected signals. Try as he may, he does not look like a diplomat. The stripes on his gray suit are a shade too bold, while his tassled loafers, the gold I.D. bracelet (A.M. HAIG) on his right wrist, his barrel chest and the piercing stare from his blue eyes all bespeak the general out of uniform. He can tick off an impressive list of philosophers—Hegel, Kant, Locke, Montesquieu—who he says have influenced his thought. But he recites their names with such a total lack of emotion as to give the impression that reading their books was a kind of boring homework.

In private Haig can talk with force and clarity. In public he mangles the English language worse than any other high official since Eisenhower. Yet there is a hint of method to his search-and-destroy operation on syntax. His sister Regina, 58, a lawyer whose family nickname is Jean, reproached him once for emitting a "polysyllabic fog" and asked, "Why don't you speak in simple declarative sentences?" Haig replied with a smile, "Jean, did you ever think of the cost of making a mistake?"

Haig is a man of simple, clear ideas. His world view can be summed up in a phrase: the Russians are coming. A Roman Catholic upbringing and a long military career have bred in Haig a reverence for order, stability, playing by the rules; he speaks of those qualities with the passion other men reserve for romantic adventure. His ideas are a model of the consistency he urges in foreign policy. What he is saying today essentially is what he said as NATO commander, and his private remarks follow the same line as his public comments.

Yet Haig is also a pragmatist. Associates say that he is flexible enough to abandon a policy that demonstrably is not working. Example: though no one has preached the need for a European military buildup louder or longer than Haig, he has conspicuously dropped the Carter Administration's demand that NATO countries increase their defense budgets at least 3% each year after adjustment for inflation. Haig's argument is that no single figure can measure the value of an ally's contribution. From his experience as NATO commander, he knew that nagging about the 3% figure only irritated friendly governments.

Nor is there much fear that Haig, for all his stern anti-Sovietism, will rush into rash adventure. Throughout his career, Haig has insisted on careful planning, weighing of risks and above all getting all the facts before making a decision.

After his retirement from the Army in June 1979, Haig spent a year as president of United Technologies Corp. Harry J. Gray, chairman of the giant conglomerate, was impressed by Haig's approach to business negotiations: "He immediately demanded everything factual on the case and did an intensive job of reading everything. Once he knew what the facts were, he made an assessment of the people involved. His approach was not to allow them to become polarized. He thought of something for the next meeting, anything that could be discussed. He was buying time, and I tell you Al Haig knows how to buy time and thus keep both parties interested in the negotiations." Haig does not blink if the facts turn out to be unpleasant, either. A year ago he suffered pain that was first diagnosed as indigestion. Suspicious, he kept pressing for further tests that eventually disclosed he needed triple-bypass heart surgery, from which he seems to have recovered fully.

The greatest doubt about Haig is whether he possesses the subtlety to appreciate the fine shadings of international politics. European allies, who praise Haig without reservation, say that as NATO commander, he showed a sure grasp of the intricacies of their political, economic and social problems. But critics fear that Haig views the world in oversimplified, good guys–bad guys terms. Says a top State Department official who knows Haig well: "In bilateral negotiations he will have a clear objective and bargain for it effectively. But how he will deal with, say, Zimbabwe in the context of the Third World—well, the jury is still out."

If Haig's subtlety is in doubt, some other aspects of his character emphatically are not. His intensity is obvious. Even in a town of workaholics, he puts in exceptionally long hours, starting normally at 6:30 a.m. His wife Patricia, 52, has a hard time recalling their vacations. They have been few and far between. On weekends, Haig does get to see Son Alexander Patrick, 28, an attorney, and Daughter Barbara, 24, who works for a law firm; both live in Washington. Another son, Brian, 27, graduated from West Point in 1975 and is now stationed at Fort Carson in Colorado.

Such relaxation as Haig gets is hyperactive. He tries to play six or seven sets of tennis on Sunday, and rides an Exercycle while watching the morning TV news before going to his office. He blames his heart trouble on the endless succession of 17-hour days he worked as deputy to Henry Kissinger. A two-pack-a-day smoker then, he quit for a while after his operation, but has resumed smoking under the pressure of his new job at State. To cut down his consumption, he keeps a pack of Merits in a desk drawer, so that

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he has to make an extra effort to get them.

Perhaps the most marked of all Haig's characteristics is a self-assurance that even some admiring European allies say borders on arrogance, and a stern determination. These traits figure in almost every story told about him by family and friends, from childhood on.

The middle of three children of a lawyer, Haig grew up in Bala-Cynwyd, a suburb of Philadelphia. The neighborhood was respectably middle class, predominantly Catholic. Boys of the area formed secret gangs and Haig was the leader of one called the Musketeers. A good boxer himself, he kept out of fights by negotiating agreements under which rival gangs would stay off Bryn Mawr Avenue, the Musketeers' turf. That testimony comes from his younger brother Frank, a Jesuit priest who is chairman of the physics and computer science department at Loyola College in Baltimore. One Christmas Eve Al, then nine, offered to prove to five-year-old Frank that there was no Santa Claus: he led his brother on a reconnaissance mission to watch their parents placing presents under the tree.

No one knows what first gave Haig the idea of a military career. Says his sister Regina: "It began when he was four years old. He just one day said he wanted to be a soldier. He had a bugle and he kept it with him all the time, marching around and tooting it; he took it to bed with him the way other kids take a stuffed animal." Haig's mother tried to talk the boy into becoming a lawyer, but, says Regina, "Al never batted an eyelid. He was constant about that one thing: he was going to West Point." Haig's principal at Lower Merion High School told the boy "you'll never make it" because his marks were not good enough. Said Haig: "You're wrong. I'm going to make it."

A wealthy uncle, John H. Neeson, helped support the family after Haig's father died of cancer when Al was ten. Neeson first got Haig into the University of Notre Dame and, after a year there, obtained a congressional appointment to the Military Academy in 1944, when Haig was 19. Surprisingly, says Regina, Haig found the discipline hard to endure, but he adjusted to it so well that in a later tour of duty at the Point, he was in charge of reprimanding cadets for infractions. The only time he apparently broke the rules was during his second year; he went over the hill for a few minutes to say farewell to Brother Frank, who was about to enter a seminary.

Haig was a dutiful student who graduated a poor 214th in the 310-member class of 1947. But he did show occasional flashes of intellect. One of his instructors recalls giving a class in which Haig was a middling student and seemed bored. Then he was given an assignment to read various studies about the peaceful control of atomic energy, and prepare a five-minute talk. Most of the cadets droned through dull remarks, says the instructor, but "all of a sudden this Cadet Haig got up and gave an absolutely stunning speech. He understood all the material and he had a gift of presentation"—a gift that Haig was to polish later as a briefing officer for numerous high-ranking bosses.

At West Point, Haig failed to make the varsity football team but played intramural football as a quarterback who, old friends recall, tended to select plays in which he ran the ball himself. He continued to play football on a Pacific League team as a young infantry officer serving postwar occupation duty in Japan. Patricia Fox, daughter of a general who was a senior aide to General MacArthur, watched one game in which Haig pulled off a series of dazzling runs. She remarked to a friend: "He's like a Greek god." They met and married. Haig soon after was posted to MacArthur's staff.

From then on, Haig won the attention of a succession of powerful men. As a young staff major at the Pentagon in 1962, he was spotted by Fritz Kraemer, a former political analyst for the Army Chief of Staff and a legendary back-room strategist who gave an early boost to Kissinger's career. Haig also became friendly with Joseph Califano, then counsel to the Army and a rising power in Washington. First as a result of Califano's influence, and then on his own, Haig rose to a variety of important jobs; at one point he prepared briefings that Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara presented to the President and the National Security Council. Once the major U.S. involvement in Viet Nam began, Haig decided to heed the old maxim that no Army officer can rise to the top without experience in combat command, which he lacked despite some brief battle experience in Korea. He went to Viet Nam in 1966 and the next year led a battalion to victory in the battle of Ap Gu, one of the major engagements in the biggest American offensive of the time. It was a classic Viet Nam operation; Haig's troops were helicoptered into an area thought to be infested with Viet Cong guerrillas, drew an enemy attack and held their ground in bloody hand-to-hand fighting, while Haig called in heavy artillery and air strikes.

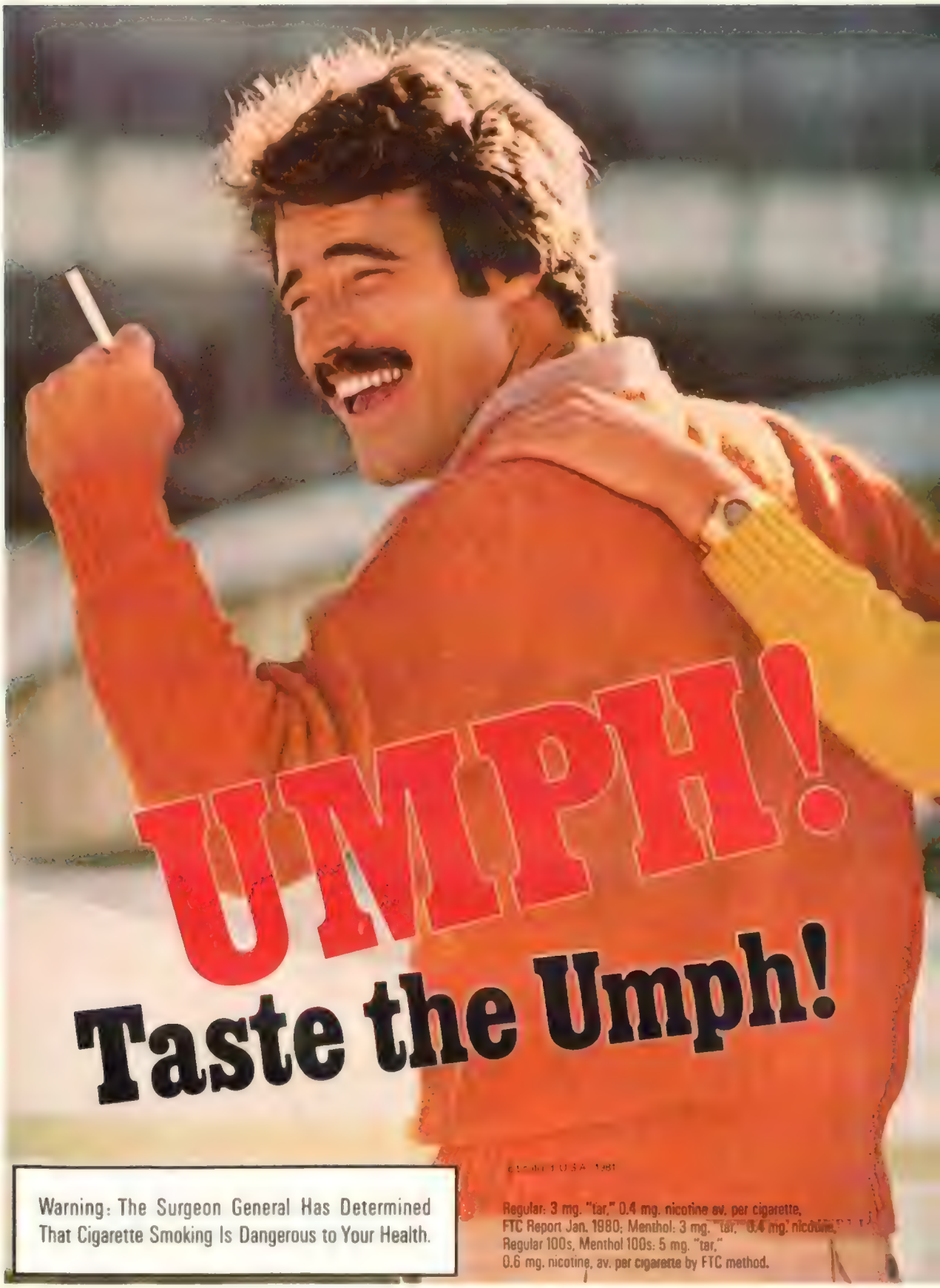
Dining with Nixon and his boss Kissinger in 1972. Left: Secretary of State William Rogers

After a long career as a doer, in a job where he must also prove himself as a thinker.

Back from Viet Nam, Haig was again at West Point when he was recommended by Kraemer to Kissinger, then President Nixon's National Security Adviser. Says Kissinger: "He was at first only a military assistant handling intelligence and Pentagon matters, but he made himself substantially indispensable." Haig worked closely with Nixon during Kissinger's many trips abroad. In May 1973 Nixon asked Haig to replace H.R. Haldeman, who had been forced to resign as White House Chief of Staff because of the Watergate scandal. Haig did not want the job; he feared that getting anywhere near Watergate would end his hopes of ever becoming Army Chief of Staff or even Chairman of the Joint Chiefs—as in fact it did. But he accepted the President's proposal out of a sense of duty.

For the next 14 months, Haig in effect held the White House together while Nixon battled to stave off impeachment. Haig is widely credited with having persuaded Nixon in the end to resign. There are still charges that Haig defended Nixon altogether too zealously, but most of those who dealt with Haig then insist that he preserved his own integrity and balance. Says Leon Jaworski, the Watergate

When it comes to great taste, everyone draws the same conclusion.



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special prosecutor, of the many legal battles between them: "Haig never raised his voice. He was never ugly, and I said some things that could have made him hit the ceiling. He believed in Nixon [but in the end] felt he had been lied to; it hurt him."

Nixon recommended that Gerald Ford keep Haig on as White House Chief of Staff. Ford understandably wanted his own man. So in 1974 Ford appointed Haig as NATO commander. Europeans at first feared that a discarded political general was being dumped on them, but Haig won their respect. He increased the combat effectiveness of NATO troops, partly by scheduling more realistic maneuvers involving American soldiers flown in from the U.S., and did much effective diplomatic work. In particular, he is credited with behind-the-scenes negotiations that eventually brought Greece back into the alliance as a full member after it had severed relations because of a rift with Turkey.

By 1978 Haig was getting increasingly disenchanted with Carter Administration policies and in June 1979 he resigned. He came home to make speeches about the Soviet threat—and at least explore the idea of running for President. The self-confident Haig made no secret of his belief that he could handle the job. Concluding that he could not win enough support to gain the Republican nomination, he dropped the idea and accepted Harry Gray's offer of the presidency of United Technologies Corp. His salary and bonuses totalled $1 million. Haig had been at United Technologies not quite a year when President-elect Reagan called him to be Secretary of State.

At the department, Haig has set a driving pace. He does not suffer fools gladly; he has been known to annotate papers with comments like "This is a lot of nonsense!" But he has won the respect of subordinates, as he has in all previous jobs, by hearing them out. Says one: "He listens, and the worst thing you can do is not give him a piece of information that he needs, even if it runs contrary to his own views."

Morale certainly has been helped by Haig's quick start in organizing the department. For the top jobs he has picked mostly moderate conservatives, men with long operating experience but little reputation for broad conceptual thinking. Some of the key names: Walter Stoessel, a senior ambassador in the Foreign Service, as Under Secretary for Political Affairs; Myer Rashish, a free-trade economist, as Under Secretary for Economic Affairs; former Senator James Buckley, a staunch conservative, as Under Secretary for Security Assistance, Science and Technology. Several of Haig's appointees are old colleagues. Lawrence Eagleburger, Chester Crocker, John H. Holdridge and Robert Hormats, slated to be important Assistant Secretaries, all worked with Haig on Kissinger's staff. Right-wingers in Congress have held up some of the appointments even though Haig's aides are all at work as if they had Senate approval. Meanwhile, Reagan last week formally nominated Eagleburger, Rashish, Crocker and Hormats.

The big exception to the level of expertise on Haig's staff is William P. Clark, a former California judge, whom Reagan himself chose as Deputy Secretary of State, the Department's No. 2 post. Clark, who showed an abysmal ignorance of foreign affairs at his confirmation hearings, was proposed for State by Californians on the White House staff to keep an eye on Haig, whom they did not know. Ironically, the selection has turned out to Haig's advantage. Clark has become an admirer of the Secretary and something of a Haig envoy to the White House.

Not that Haig has needed much help in the bureaucratic wars; he has been doing just fine on his own. An eight-page, double-spaced order signed by Reagan last week gives the State Department authority to set up interagency groups to coordinate foreign policy planning and operations by the many departments with overseas interests; disputes are referred to a senior interdepartmental group headed by Clark. The most important impact of this arrangement is that it insulates Haig's department from the tendency of the National Security Council staff to become a kind of rival State Department, as it did under Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

National Security Adviser Richard Allen retains the power to review policy options for the President, and many in Washington think he will eventually make his voice heard. But Allen so far is honoring a pledge to make himself publicly invisible. What is more, he has been so slow to organize his own staff that he could not at this point rival Haig for power if he tried. In any case, Reagan has often vowed to make the Secretary of State pre-eminent in foreign policy, and he obviously retains his confidence in the man he picked for the job.

How good a Secretary of State will Haig turn out to be? Says Helmut Sonnenfeldt, who worked with Haig as Kissinger's top Soviet specialist: "My guess is that he will do pretty well. He won't see problems in isolation. He may connect them more than a lot of people's taste would warrant." Rejecting the view that Haig is an unimaginative technocrat, Sonnenfeldt says "he has a broad and creative vision and a special talent for recognizing the connection between issues." Other observers, such as former White House staffers and senior State Department officials, note that even though Haig is not a grand strategist in the Kissinger manner, he compensates for that lack with his organizational skills, his realism and his sensitivity to other people.

The NATO commander striding toward chateau provided by Belgian government

His world view can be summed up in one phrase: the Russians are coming

Haig understandably is in an optimistic mood. For all his somber view of Soviet power, he believes that the historical tide is running against Marxism. He cites the poor performance of the Soviet economy and Soviet troubles with its client states. These trends, he believes, might tempt the Kremlin leaders to launch more foreign adventures out of frustration, but in the long run they can only be weakening. Haig's hard anti-Soviet line is backed by a strong consensus in the U.S. All these trends give him a chance to be one of the most influential Secretaries of State in modern times.

So far, Haig has made almost all the right moves. At the department he heads, there are outlines of policy, there is organization, there is spirit. There is a clear, if risky, decision on El Salvador. But what about China? Or the Third World? The El Salvador crisis alerted the new Administration to the fact that the world will not wait forever. The preliminaries are over; the real test for Alexander Haig has just begun. —*By George J. Church. Reported by Dean Brelis/Philadelphia and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

An Interview with Haig

The how and why behind America's mandate for change

Early one morning last week, TIME *Correspondents Roberto Suro and Gregory Wierzynski were ushered into the wood-paneled office of Alexander Haig for the first on-the-record interview for a U.S. magazine that the Secretary of State has given since the Inauguration. The Secretary's pace has been exhausting for days, and his eyes were red from fatigue. But he was unhesitant, almost ebullient, throughout the 45-minute interview. He emphasized his points with a full panoply of theatrical gestures, everything from a stage whisper to his booming general's voice. Excerpts from his remarks:*

Q. Are you pleased with the direction El Salvador has taken as a foreign policy issue?

A. I don't think the issue lends itself to assessments of personal gratitude or displeasure. We found an ongoing situation, an extension of what we've been seeing since Soviet proxy forces went into Angola during the Ford Administration. And you'll recall at that time it was the Legislative, not the Executive, Branch which prevented action designed to support those who were opposed to the Soviet-supported outcome. Since that time, we've been plagued with similar situations in Ethiopia, in South Yemen, North Yemen, Afghanistan, in Kampuchea [Cambodia]. And we now see a very clearly delineated Soviet-Cuban strategy to create Marxist-Leninist regimes in Central America —Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras in the first phase.

The problem here is a critical one for the American people and for those who share our values. That is, whether or not we are going to continue to turn our back on these illegal interventions or whether we are going to insist—as we, the Executive Branch, have been doing—that the future of El Salvador must be up to the people of El Salvador. That is the issue.

Q. Has El Salvador been overblown as a foreign policy issue?

A. I am concerned that with modern communications there is a penchant for episodic emphasis. It always includes the risk that we will lose sight of the forest for preoccupation with the trees.

Q. In your first answer, I sensed a frustration with congressional restraints on Executive action.

A. No, I have no basis for any frustration whatsoever. The support we have had from the leadership in both Houses has been extremely encouraging. You will find that most of the opposition has come from a minority. I don't mean to suggest by that that there is not a great deal of justified and strongly held concern among the American people about the situation in El Salvador, and the experiences of Viet Nam have certainly heightened this concern. We have to deal with it—with a great sensitivity to that concern.

"We now see a very clearly delineated Soviet-Cuban strategy to create Marxist-Leninist regimes in Central America."

Q. You have said that the largest issue in the Middle East is the extension of Soviet influence, but most Middle East experts believe Palestinian autonomy is the central problem. How do these two questions balance off?

A. The broad strategic issues raised by Soviet imperialism are the fundamental reality that Arab-Israeli disputes must be related to. An exclusive preoccupation with the Arab-Israeli dispute would not remove overriding strategic dangers that those of us who share common values —Arab and Jew, and America and other Western nations—have got to confront. Now, this does not mean that the urgency in the search for an Arab-Israeli agreement is to be subordinated to the broader East-West concerns, but rather that these are mutually reinforcing concerns that must be dealt with in parallel. But never with an exclusive preoccupation. In the past we have had a tendency to do that.

Q. The Carter Doctrine says the U.S. will go to war to defend the oil flow from the Persian Gulf. How can we defend the region?

A. I am always repelled by such extreme simplifications. Western industrialized societies are largely dependent on the oil resources of the Middle East region and a threat to access to that oil would constitute a grave threat to the vital national interest. That must be dealt with; and that does not exclude the use of force if that is necessary.

Q. Should the U.S. station troops in the area of the Middle East?

A. This is a difficult problem. A problem we are seized with right now, we inherited it . . . If in the act of establishing that presence we were to upset the current favorable trends in the Arab world—which include a heightened sensitivity to the dangers of Soviet imperialism—and thrust these Arab states into the Soviet orbit, then we might be indulging in self-defeating moves. It is a very delicate matter and one which we are studying with great care.

Q. You are going to the Middle East next month. What do you hope to accomplish?

A. First and foremost to learn. We have two ongoing negotiations: the autonomy talks and the negotiations associated with the establishment of a peace-keeping force for the Sinai, which would be the triggering mechanism for the final Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai. My visit is designed to give me a firsthand feel for the viewpoints of both sides.

Q. Would you clarify your China policy?

A. I think this is clearly and definitively outlined in President Reagan's Aug. 25 statement. He visualizes continued efforts to normalize our relationship with the People's Republic. That is a fundamental strategic reality and a strategic imperative. It is of overriding importance to international stability and world peace. He also visualizes adherence to the communiqué associated with the normalization agreement with Peking. And he visualizes a nonofficial status with the people of Taiwan, based on adherence to American law established in the Taiwan Relations Act. We do not view these —the communiqué and the act—as mutually exclusive.

Q. The immediate issue at hand is the sale of fighters to Taiwan.

A. I don't consider that to be the immediate issue at hand.

Q. Are you saying you're going to sell the fighters?

A. No, no. I'm not saying anything of the kind; in fact, I'm very consciously avoiding saying anything

Q. Brezhnev's speech to the Party Congress included certain overtures to this Administration. Can the U.S. afford not to make some positive overtures to the Soviet Union?

A. I don't consider that our initial response to Mr. Brezhnev's speech was devoid of positive elements. We found the speech extremely interesting. We noted that it had a number of innovative facets. We emphasized that talks between ourselves and the Soviet Union were an inherent aspect of the conduct of our East-West policy. We believe it is in the interest of international stability and the American people to avoid the tendency that we have experienced on occasions in the past to rush to summitry for summitry's sake and to bring about euphoric expectations . . . and then to dash that euphoria against the rocks of ill-prepared summitry. We want to avoid that. We want to prepare steps for summitry very carefully . . . and only then to indulge in that kind of diplomacy

Q. But the President also indicated that summits will have to wait for the resolution of problems that he sees as linked to summit issues.

A. Why, of course

Q. And that could be a long haul?

A. That is in the hands of the Soviet leadership. East-West relations have never been a one-way street and must not be. We consider that the fundamental premises of improvement of East-West relations and achievements of summitry or negotiations in general have got to be characterized by reciprocity and restraint. In the current scene—with the situation in El Salvador, the situation in Afghanistan, the potential dangers in Poland, and proxy activity—that situation does not prevail

I do not know how anyone could have confidence in a strategy that involved failure to take cognizance of Soviet global activity. You know, people debate whether there should or there should not be linkage. That is not the issue. Linkage has always been an inherent aspect of international affairs

Q. What can the U.S. do to prevent a Soviet invasion of Poland?

A. First I would want to make it clear that a Soviet intervention in Poland, directly or indirectly, is neither inevitable nor imminent. It is our view that the Polish people must be able to deal with their own current dilemmas with their own resources, free of external involvement. And it is our view that should this external involvement occur, it will have grave consequences for an *extended* period on East-West relations

Q. The Polish economy is on the verge of collapse. You have said that you do not want to send aid to Poland unless the government institutes economic reform. Are you near a decision on an aid package?

A. There are several issues here. One is a very urgent issue of release on debt ser-

"I don't know how anyone could have confidence in a strategy that involved failure to take cognizance of Soviet global activity."

vicing, and we have joined other nations in making a contribution to assist the Polish dilemma in this area. Beyond that, we are in negotiations which would meet the urgent humanitarian needs of the Polish people, as we have in the past. We think this is in our interests, and we think it is also a moral imperative

Q. You have said that human rights diplomacy is best conducted through private channels. Do you favor some change in the law that requires the State Department to give annual human rights reports to Congress?

A. We are concerned that open societies sometimes get victimized by the practical consequences of their openness and by the lack of access to information about totalitarian regimes where, it is our conviction, the major abuses to human rights are occurring today. But this is an ancillary problem related to our more strongly held concern that past human rights policies have in many instances been counterproductive, not only to the objective of strengthening human rights but also from the standpoint of vital American interests

There are a number of questions related to this. First and foremost, we must continue to be deeply concerned about abuses to human rights wherever they occur; but, there are such questions as whether amelioration of those abuses is best achieved under the glare of public criticism and animosity and confrontation, or whether it is best achieved in a quieter dialogue between states with a healthy relationship

Q. You have said that this Administration has a mandate for change in foreign policy. Is the post–Viet Nam paralysis over?

A. I do believe that the American people voted for change and I think that change involves a number of inadequacies in the status quo . . . The American people are concerned about what they perceive to be a declining level of effectiveness abroad. Do I think the days of the so-called Viet Nam syndrome are over? No. I do not think they will ever be over. There were many valuable lessons which our anguish and experience have crystalized for the American people. I hope we would never lose sight of those lessons

On the other hand, the excesses that followed the Viet Nam experience —which suggested that the U.S. could no longer afford to engage itself in global leadership—have proved their own fallaciousness. The escalating setbacks to our interests abroad, increasing lawlessness and terrorism, and the so-called wars of liberation are putting in jeopardy our ability to influence world events constructively and assure access to raw materials. All these suggest to the American people that we need to modify our approach. So do the unchallenged seizure of American citizens, the murder of American diplomats and officials, kidnapings . . . Soviet interventions around the world are an extension of the Brezhnev Doctrine outside the sphere of Soviet hegemony. We will tolerate such interventions in the future only at great risk to world peace

Q. Sounds like you have a tall order before you. Are you enjoying your job?

A. I don't think that is a term that would be appropriate. I find it extremely challenging. I find it more satisfying than any job I've had because I feel that my ability to contribute to policy has been enhanced, and therefore it is satisfying. I suppose this has been a lifelong endeavor for me and the greater your responsibilities, the more satisfaction one derives

I remain basically optimistic. In an historic sense, we are witnessing the unraveling, if you will, of the greatest challenge to the world peace today, and that is the Marxist-Leninist movement. While one can take comfort from this historic reality, one must be increasingly alert. When such a situation coincides with an unusual accumulation of military power by Marxist-Leninist states, the opportunities for miscalculation are increased rather than decreased. That is why there is an overriding need for this Administration and for the American people—and indeed, for all of those who share our values—to insure, in the near term, that we are willing to make the sacrifices necessary to maintain the military capabilities that we must have

A Bonanza for Defense

The Administration proposes a record military buildup

The nation's thrifty new President, basking in widespread popularity over his sharp budget and tax cuts, showed last week that he can dish money out as well as he can take it away. Turning from economic troubles at home to the Soviet threat abroad, the Reagan Administration announced the largest—and most expensive—peacetime military buildup in U.S. history. The five-year plan would more than double the current defense budget, pushing it from $171 billion in fiscal 1981 to $367.5 billion in 1986. The first big leap in new spending authority would be a 16% jump between now and 1982, costing $32.6 billion. Over the full five years, the money sought would total $1.5 trillion.*

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was accorded a warm reception from the Senate Armed Services Committee as he outlined what he called "the second half of the Administration's program to revitalize America." The man who earned a reputation as "Cap the Knife" for his stingy ways as Richard Nixon's Budget Director seemed now to relish his role as a generous dispenser of military goodies. He made a strong pitch for the Pentagon's spending plans, arguing that "it is neither reasonable nor prudent to view the Soviet military buildup as defensive in nature." While President Carter had also projected more money for defense, Weinberger complained that too many military programs would have been delayed too long under the Carter plans. Contended Weinberger: "We do not believe we can afford to temporize any longer in the face of the Soviet threat: the time for taking our time has ended."

The vast increase in military funding, coupled with the proposed slashes in nondefense spending, dramatically illustrated the Reagan Administration's determination to reorder national priorities. Weinberger suggested in his Senate testimony that U.S. "social spending" and "efforts to redistribute income" have set a "bad example" for friends. "We cannot fault our allies for insufficient contributions to the common defense," he argued, "when they have merely duplicated our own behavior."

JCS Chairman David Jones, Weinberger and Senator John Tower at hearing

"We cannot deter that effort from 7,000 miles away. We have to be there."

Weinberger singled out Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf as likely areas in which Soviet interests eventually will collide with those of the West. He predicted that the U.S.S.R., like the U.S., will become economically dependent on oil from the gulf and will try either to make that fuel more costly to the West or cut off access to it. Declared Weinberger: "We cannot deter that effort from 7,000 miles away. We have to be there in a credible way." That seemed to echo the so-called Carter Doctrine, in which the previous Administration proclaimed that the U.S. would meet any challenge in the vital oil-producing region. The difference was that Reagan hopes to make the doctrine a threat with a punch behind it.

While it will take years to fulfill all its plans for a more rapid deployment of U.S. forces to meet a Persian Gulf crisis, the Pentagon request includes $887 million this fiscal year and next to build eight new KC-10 advanced tanker planes for the Air Force, put new engines in half of the nation's 517 KC-135 Stratotankers and buy seven Boeing 707s. Other funds would be used to convert eight commercial cargo ships to fast Navy resupply vessels. There are also funds to lengthen the runways at the U.S.-leased military base on Britain's Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean so it can handle B-52 bombers and to improve ports at Mombasa in Kenya and Barbara in Somalia to accommodate U.S. naval vessels under agreements with those two nations.

The most spectacular shift in the Pentagon's long-range plans is a sharply accelerated shipbuilding program. Declared Weinberger: "We must have naval superiority. Control of the seas is as essential to our security as control of their land borders is to the Soviet Union." The goal is a fleet of some 600 ships by 1990, compared with today's 456. That increase would give the U.S. 15 naval battle groups,* three more than at present. According to Navy Secretary John Lehman, it would permit the U.S. to challenge the Soviet navy even in the northern seas between Iceland and Scandinavia.

The ship construction will begin with an extra $367 million this year and $3.8 billion in 1982. To get a faster start on refurbishing the fleet, Weinberger wants to pull two 1940s battleships, the *Iowa* and *New Jersey*, out of mothballs in the ports of Philadelphia and Bremerton, Wash., and put them back in service. He would do the same with the aircraft carrier *Oriskany*, now in Bremerton. It will take at least two years and cost more than $860 million to re-equip the vessels, which are up to 38 years old. But, claimed Weinberger, "no other ship in any modern navy is as impressive or as survivable as the battleships of the *Iowa* class."

The Navy also will get an extra cruiser (cost: at least $840 million), two more antisubmarine and antiaircraft frigates (cost: at least $490 million), one more nuclear-powered submarine (cost: about $1 billion) and a long-awaited start on a new nuclear-powered *Nimitz*-class carrier. That ship, which may cost $4 billion or more, is not expected to go to sea before 1991.

The Reagan Administration clearly takes a gloomier view of the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons capability than had Carter. Weinberger contended that the U.S. not only faces "the prospect of Soviet strategic superiority," but that it also is failing to produce any more land-based missiles or bombers. The U.S.S.R. meanwhile is "mass-producing both." To cor-

*In the celebrated Reagan analogy, that would be a stack of $1,000 bills 103.5 miles high.

*A battle group usually includes a carrier, two cruisers, destroyers, guided missile frigates and attack submarines, as well as support vessels.

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Maybe The World Won't Go To War Over Oil...But Who'd Be Foolish Enough To Want To Find Out?

With international tensions what they are today, America must do whatever it can to eliminate potential sources of military conflict.

Oil is one major source of tension. It is a sobering fact that much of the world's oil supply is controlled by Middle Eastern countries like Iraq. What these countries choose to do with the price and availability of oil has a radical impact on America's economy—and our national security. For example, what if supplies of Mideast oil were cut off completely? Where would we find the energy needed for our own survival?

This threat was underscored by the President, when, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, he bluntly warned a Joint Session of the Congress: "Any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America and . . . it will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

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The fact is that two-thirds of the oil used to generate our electricity is *imported*. We can reduce our reliance on that foreign oil—and the threat to our national security—by turning to *other* domestic sources of energy, like coal and nuclear power.

Right now, nuclear power is already providing 11% of the nation's electricity. In some parts of the country, that contribution is much higher. It has been estimated that the 75 nuclear power plants currently licensed and the 106 under construction or on order could provide America with the energy equivalent of approximately 4½ million barrels of oil per day, or half our current imports.

By using more nuclear power—and less oil—to generate electricity, America *can* reduce its reliance on foreign oil.

Energy Independence And World Peace

Virtually every industrialized nation is turning to nuclear power as a way to reduce dependence on Mideast oil. The Soviet Union, Japan, Canada, France, Germany, the United Kingdom and others are all moving forward with the construction of more nuclear plants. Moreover, considering the grave international consequences of continued dependence on Mideast oil, the United States joined other Western nations at the Venice Summit in declaring: "The role of nuclear energy must be increased if world energy needs are to be met."

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rect this. Weinberger advocated a new manned bomber designed to penetrate Soviet air defenses. He asked for $2.4 billion next year to develop such an aircraft, promising to decide by June 15 whether it would be an updated B-1 design or a modification of the FB-111.

The Pentagon also intends to push for development of the controversial MX missile system, though just how it would be deployed is now under review. A plan to move the mobile missile on tracks through vast stretches of Utah and Nevada has drawn sharp opposition in those states. A proposal to place up to 320 Tomahawk cruise missiles, which can hurl nuclear warheads over a 1,500-mile range, on each of the two battleships would also strengthen the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

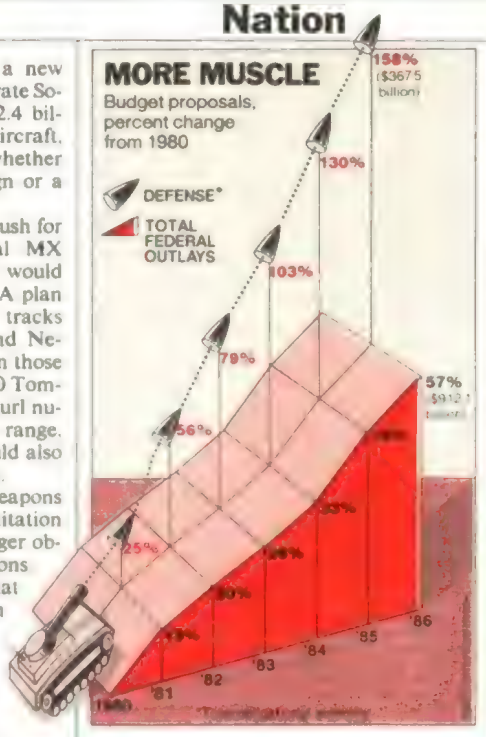
Just how all such nuclear-weapons plans might affect future arms limitation negotiations is uncertain. Weinberger objects sharply to the SALT II provisions He told the Senate committee: "That treaty would have permitted an enormous further increase in Soviet offensive capacity while presenting the danger of lulling us into a false sense of security." Nevertheless, he added, "we are not abandoning hope for arms control, but we are abandoning unwarranted illusions."

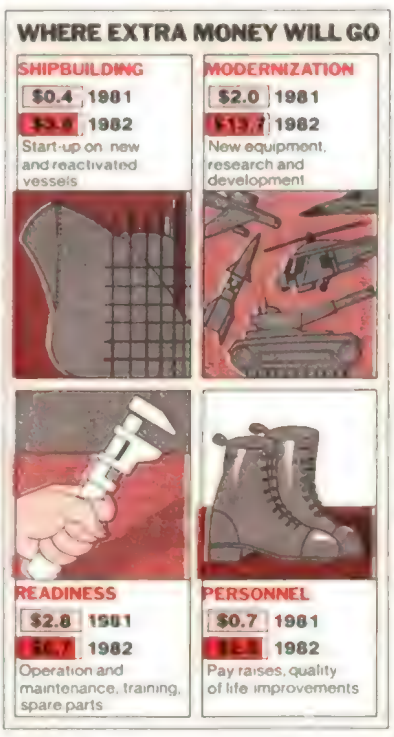
In addition to all the glamorous hardware in the expanded defense budget, Weinberger emphasized the need to improve U.S. conventional forces. He cited such mundane needs as more spare parts, ammunition and supply items. The Secretary vowed to make military salaries comparable with civilian pay, asking for $2.2 billion to cover a 5.3% military pay hike in July. That would be on top of the 11.7% raise already granted this year. Also requested: an extra $15.7 billion through 1982 for more tactical aircraft, tanks, helicopters, infantry vehicles and a wide variety of electronic equipment and other gear.

With so many longtime critics of military spending ousted from Congress last fall, there were few left to question last week's defense bonanza. Democratic Senator Gary Hart argued against the expensive *Nimitz* carrier in favor of lighter, less expensive models. Republican Mark Hatfield, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, promises to push for some type of arms limitation agreement. Says Hatfield: "We're spending and building first before seeing if there is a method of obviating the need for that buildup. It's unnecessary and it's dangerous."

Opposition to the rest of Reagan's economic program is still too disorganized to have an impact on Congress. Yet resistance is developing. Last week Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy conducted a "policy forum," at which he assailed Reagan's plans as a "program of unfair sacrifice and unequal benefit based on an untested and uncertain economic theory." AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, with almost dreary predictability, attacked the Reagan budget as "the most costly roll of the dice ever proposed for this nation." United Auto Workers President Donald Fraser termed it "bad economic policy and worse social policy."

So far, Democratic congressional leaders are cowed by Reagan's popularity and are undecided how to attack those parts of his spending and tax cuts that they consider either wrong or vulnerable. "We aren't ready to play hardball yet," admitted House Speaker Tip O'Neill. California Senator Alan Cranston sees only three options for the Democrats who oppose Reagan's plans: 1) give him everything he wants, on the theory it will prove disastrous and the Democrats then would benefit politically from Reagan's failure; 2) propose a complete substitute for the Reagan package; 3) give Reagan most of what he wants, but fight tenaciously against the worst of his cuts. Cranston dismisses the first as "irresponsible," the second as impractical and "not politically bright," which leaves him with the third.





The President last week took on the opponents of his program directly. At a meeting of the National League of Cities in Washington, he said the real threat comes from those who oppose only "the cuts that affect them." The listening mayors seemed to be in that category. They passed a resolution praising his "bold and profound set of policies," but objected to his plans to cut off funds for federal housing units and to phase out mass-transit subsidies.

There will be more pained cries this week when the President details another $11 billion in budget cuts. He revealed one of the new reductions last week: a permanent ceiling on nondefense federal employment that will remove 96,000 workers by the end of next year at a saving of $1.3 billion. Some of the new cuts are expected to come in the politically sensitive area of veterans' benefits. Reagan would shut a few Veterans Administration hospitals and close some 90 storefront offices in which Viet Nam veterans receive counseling.

The President intends to push his programs hardest while he still enjoys broad support. In May an unprecedented $6 million television blitz to drum up more backing for his programs will be launched jointly by the Republican National Committee, the National Republican Senatorial Committee and the National Republican Congressional Committee.

At the moment, such a selling effort does not even look necessary. Few federal programs have been as untouchable for so long as dairy price supports, in large part because milk producers contribute heavily to the campaigns of many members of Congress. And few committees have been as vulnerable to such pressure as those dealing with farm programs. Last week the tables were turned. In the first congressional test of a specific Reagan funding slash, the Senate Agriculture Committee agreed to kill a proposed $138 million increase in dairy subsidies that would otherwise have gone into effect on April 1. The vote was 14 to 2, a margin calculated to curdle the blood of budget cut foes. —*By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Neil MacNeil/Washington*

Thunderers on the Right

True Believers will make noise and policy in sub-Cabinet posts

Lyn Nofziger, longtime Ronald Reagan loyalist and true-blue guardian of Reaganism, put the matter to his boss bluntly. Those who had toiled in the fields, the True Believers who had dreamed for more than a decade of a Reagan presidency, were being left out in the cold. The Cabinet was dominated by pragmatists and retreads from past Republican Administrations, rather than the ideologically pure. The sub-Cabinet was showing dangerous signs of following suit. Something had to be done quickly, he warned, to mollify Reagan's hard-core following of right-wing ideologues.

Indeed, protests from the New Right had begun as soon as Reagan gave top Cabinet jobs to such mainstream Republicans as Alexander Haig and Caspar Weinberger. Then these men brought pragmatic moderates into the sub-Cabinet: Lawrence Eagleburger at the State Department and Frank Carlucci at Defense. Conservative Senators like Jesse Helms turned cantankerous, and the *Conservative Digest* publicly warned Reagan, "Your mandate for change is in danger of being subverted."

Nofziger, who is ensconced in Richard Nixon's old Executive Office Building hideaway as Reagan's assistant for political affairs, has apparently carried the day. The puckish former press secretary has been given the power of "political clearance" over all sub-Cabinet jobs and was ceded nearly total control over some 1,500 lower-level political appointments. Says a presidential aide "At the staff meetings every day, Nofziger says: "We've got to clean out the Democrats and get our own people taken care of."

Partly as a result of Nofziger's involvement, and partly as compensation to offended conservatives, the pendulum of political appointments has swung decisively to the right. Exults placated *Conservative Digest* Publisher Richard Viguerie: "Until now, it seemed that if you were a longtime Reagan supporter you were *persona non grata* at the White House. It's hard to have Reaganism without Reaganites." But others, including some in the Administration, are concerned that things may be going too far. Says one West Wing aide: "Good, solid Republican types are getting screwed."

A few of the recently appointed sub-Cabinet officers will be on the cutting edge of the change Reagan has promised for the Federal Government. Their fervent beliefs are a radical departure from the policies of past Administrations, Democratic or Republican. Says one moderate White House aide: "The revolution is happening and nobody is noticing." Soon, however, people will undoubtedly take notice, because these new appointees will

Reagan Political Assistant Nofziger
"We've got to clean out the Democrats."

be at the center of some of the most heated controversies in the Administration Among the newly installed Reaganites

Ernest Lefever. Though he calls himself a Harry Truman Democrat, the new head of the State Department's Office of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs represents a clear reversal of the pursuit of international human rights by past Democratic—and Republican—Administrations. In his writings, he has attacked Gerald Ford and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for "arrogance, illusion and capriciousness" in trying to promote majority rule in Rhodesia, and questioned their "undue alarm" over nuclear proliferation. In 1978, as head of Washington's Ethics and Public Policy Center, he caught Reagan's eye with a paper titled "The Trivialization of Human Rights." In it Lefever rejected the basic premise of the division he now heads: "There should be a profound moral constraint on efforts designed to alter domestic practices, institutions and policies within other states." He aroused a particularly bitter controversy by defending sales of powdered infant feeding formulas in underdeveloped nations—a trade that critics say produces alarming rates of malnutrition and infant death—while at the same time Lefever's center received funding from Nestlé, principal manufacturer of the formulas.

Ernest W. Lefever

Richard Pipes

Lefever, 61, says that he is not opposed to the human rights policy, but charges that the Carter Administration selectively applied it to American allies while ignoring abuses in Communist nations. Says he: "We will be upgrading the human rights policy. We are going to be more effective because we do not believe in selective application." He also stresses that the most effective way to "nudge" other countries is through quiet diplomacy, not public preaching.

Richard Pipes. A Harvard professor of Russian history, the National Security Council's new Soviet expert believes that tsarist imperialism of the 19th century has translated into the Soviet expansionism of today. Pipes, 57, who came to the U.S. from his native Poland as a teen-ager, is a critic of Kissinger's policy of détente, which he said represented a "perilous extreme [of] complete relaxation." Pipes headed "Team B," an outside task force appointed by then CIA Director George Bush to assess Soviet military strength. Pipes advocates "nuclear superiority" for the U.S., arguing that the Soviet Union would be prepared to fight and win a nuclear war. Says he: "Nuclear superiority means convincing your opponent you are willing to use this force."

Fred Iklé. The new Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, third-ranking member of the Pentagon hierarchy, was an adviser to Reagan during the campaign. As head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under President Ford, Iklé, 56, fought hard to torpedo the SALT I agreement. While Kissinger was in Moscow putting the final touches on the agreement, Iklé was at the White House arguing against the treaty. Caspar Weinberger wanted to appoint another SALT opponent, Paul Nitze, to the job, but Senator Helms and other conservatives argued that he had not been an active Reagan supporter. In a FORTUNE article published two years ago, Iklé had warned: "If the U.S. is not already militarily inferior [to the Soviet Union], it soon will be."

Paul Craig Roberts. A longtime and fervent supply-side economic theorist, the new Assistant Treasury Secretary for Economic Policy may be more rigidly doctrinaire than is his boss, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan. Roberts, 41, is a former editorial writer for the *Wall Street Journal* and senior fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and In-

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ternational Studies, one of the conservative think tanks. A onetime assistant to Congressman Jack Kemp of New York, he helped draft the Kemp-Roth tax-cutting bill now at the heart of the Reagan tax proposals. Roberts charged last year that "Government has been relying on the growth of its budget to provide employment rather than on the growth of private economy." And he is no fan of moderate Republicanism. He warned the incoming Reagan team: "If the new Administration returns to the policies of the Nixon-Ford years, it will be showing the world what it has seen before."

John Crowell. Reagan's choice to oversee the U.S. Forest Service—and 200 million acres of federal land—has fought that agency as general counsel for the Louisiana-Pacific Corp., a timber company. Reagan has picked other regulatory heads from the ranks of regulees—former Piper Aviation Chairman J. Lynn Helms to head the Federal Aviation Administration, E.F. Hutton Brokerage Executive John S.R. Shad to head the Securities and Exchange Commission, and antienvironmental Lawyer James Watt to be Interior Secretary. The appointment of Crowell, 63, is noteworthy because of his fervent opposition to federal timber management

Fred Ikle

Paul C. Roberts

policies. Says Brant Calkin of the Sierra Club in Santa Fe: "This may be like asking Dracula to guard the blood bank."

Anne Gorsuch. Reagan's choice to head the Environmental Protection Agency has often criticized the agency. She was supported by business groups and by fellow Coloradans James Watt and conservative Brewer Joseph Coors. As a state legislator, Gorsuch opposed a bill to control toxic wastes as well as rules for a Colorado auto emissions law.

Robert Burford. Another Colorado resident and former speaker of the state house of representatives, Burford was a backer of the "Sagebrush Rebellion," which seeks to turn federally owned land back to the states. He has been chosen to head the Bureau of Land Management. Burford, 58, has a permit to graze livestock on more than 33,000 acres in Colorado, which he says he will try to turn over to his three sons if he is confirmed.

The Rev. Bob Billings. The former executive director of the Moral Majority, Billings, 54, is scheduled for appointment to a newly created sub-Cabinet post in the Education Department that will probably involve nonpublic schools. Billings, a Baptist, has been an outspoken opponent of sex education, abortion and homosexual rights, and a proponent of school prayer. He was once a public school principal, and says he was offended by "red tape, and a philosophy that was coming down from above—humanism." So he took off across the country with his wife and a trailer to help local communities set up Christian schools.

Dr. C. Everett Koop. The newly appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services is in line for Surgeon General. Koop made his name in the early 1970s with his operations to separate Siamese twins, but has since become known as an evangelical Christian who crusades against abortion. Over the past two years, Koop, 64, has toured the country with a 17-hour multimedia presentation called "Whatever Happened to the Human Race?" It denounces abortion, the loss of family values, euthanasia and infanticide. Says he: "The first domino to fall was abortion on demand, and it has split the country as has no other issue since the practice of slavery."

Marjory Mecklenburg. President of the antiabortion American Citizens Concerned for Life, Mecklenburg is the prime candidate to be director of the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs, part of the Department of Health and Human Services. She says that her organization believes contraceptives should not be "the first line of defense" against teen pregnancies. Instead, she insists, young people should be educated to "postpone sexual involvement." Mecklenburg adds, however, that she sees "little to be gained by withholding contraception from sexually active adolescents."

Thomas Pauken. The nominee to head ACTION, the agency that oversees VISTA and the Peace Corps, Pauken, 37, is a Dallas lawyer described as being as far to the political right as Carter's director, Sam Brown, was to the left. Says Pauken: "Some liberals might not like me." What is most significant is that Pauken is a former Army intelligence officer. The Peace Corps has sometimes been suspected by Third World nations of being a front for U.S. intelligence agencies. So sensitive is the Corps that it turns down volunteers who have previously been associated with such agencies. Worries one Peace Corps insider: "It could put the lives of volunteers in jeopardy in some countries."

John Crowell

Anne Gorsuch

Like Sherlock Holmes' deduction from the dog that did not bark in the night, an Administration is sometimes marked by an appointment that was not made. One example last week was that of current Federal Trade Commissioner

The Rev. Bob Billings

C. Everett Koop

Patricia Bailey, 43, one of two Republicans on the five-member panel. Reagan had signed the papers designating her to be the new commission chairman, but had not yet announced the appointment. Then a story appeared in the Washington *Star* quoting her as opposing Budget Director David Stockman's plan to phase out the FTC's role in enforcing antitrust laws, a function it has had for 67 years. Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese promptly called the panel's other Republican, David Clanton, 36, and told him that he would be made chairman instead—even though Clanton said he agrees with Bailey's speech. Bailey thinks she was unappointed because of her support for the Equal Rights Amendment. Says she: "They obviously have tremendous problems putting a woman in any position of responsibility." At Reagan's press conference last week, he was asked if Bailey's non-appointment was "a signal to other Republicans that if they don't conform that off will go their heads?" Reagan paused, sighed and then asked back "How can you say that about a sweet fellow like me?" He then explained that Bailey was only one of the people under consideration for that particular job.

Hundreds more middle-level positions in the new Administration remain to be filled. As the persistent Nofziger supervises the selection of appointees, any lingering fears among conservatives about a lack of true Reaganites in influential positions should fade. Of course, the need to face stubborn realities and make tough practical decisions can dilute the actions of even the most fervent ideologues. But at the very least, conservatives can no longer claim that they have been cheated out of their long-awaited chance to participate in setting federal policy in the next four years. *—By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Douglas Brew/Washington*

Another Body

And the profile of a murderer

Wanted: a man or woman about 40 years old, single or childless, with at least a high school education. A reliable employee who has frequent contact with children, perhaps even on the job, and lives in a lower middle-class racially mixed neighborhood. A loner, with few close friends and virtually no sense of humor. Extremely neat. Brought up in a broken home by an abusive mother. May believe it is an act of mercy to kill poor black children and thus remove them from a bad environment. May have expressed condolences to some of the victims' families; may even have attended a funeral or two.

Such is the summary description of the "gentle killer" who police believe may have committed at least six of the killings of Atlanta's black children in the past six months. The profile, published in the Atlanta *Constitution* last week and described as the work of FBI psychologists, caused a bit of a stir. According to FBI Spokesman John Glover, it was not released by the FBI and as published is inaccurate "as to details of the bureau's profile."

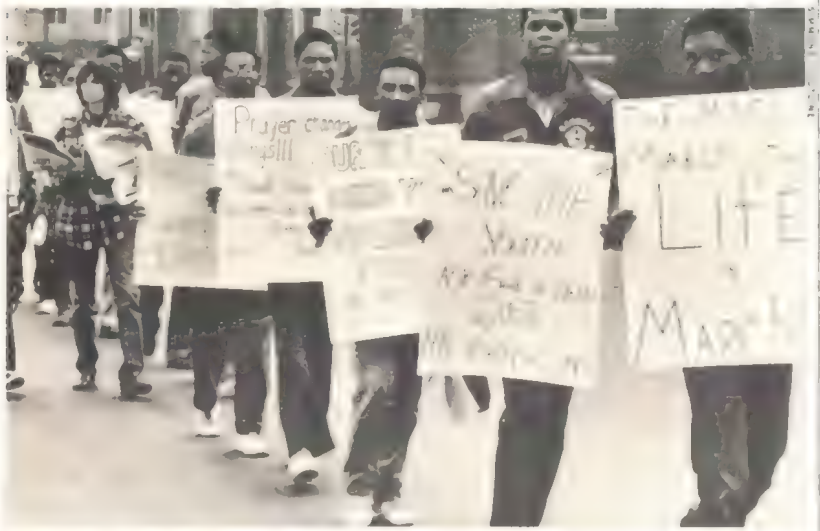
The profile did provide something of a focus for the formless dread, but it seemed to do nothing to help catch a killer. At week's end another body was found, this one floating in the South River in De Kalb County, bringing the death toll to 20 victims. The body was identified as that of Curtis Walker, 13, who had been missing since Feb. 19, when he failed to return home after looking for after-school work. Officials speculate that Walker's body may have been dropped into the river upstream from an overpass. Cause of death: asphyxiation.

Nationwide concern over the murders has brought offers of help and money. Mayor Maynard Jackson announced that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference would oversee distribution of private donations to victims' families. Yet Camille Bell, mother of one of the victims, argued that the contributions should be sent to the parents' own Committee to Stop Children's Murders. Said Bell: "I see organizations moving into prominence on the coffins of these children." Bell and S.C.L.C. officials later reached an agreement to involve parents in the S.C.L.C. fund.

That did not stop some enterprising fund raisers from mounting their own campaigns. Said State Assemblyman Tyrone Brooks: "There are people moving throughout our city, soliciting money, goods and clothing under the pretense that they are trying to help the families of the murdered and missing children. These people are very slick and swift."

But most of the efforts to help are genuine. A Brooklyn, N.Y., black newspaper, *Big Red*, is raising funds for the Atlanta police department. St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church in Cambridge, Mass., is urging members to pray and wear green ribbons, symbolizing life. The Rev. Willie Taplin Barrow, a Chicago mother and minister, helped organize a group of 200 women to travel to Atlanta to meet with parents "to find out how we can help." Says Barrow: "If everybody just prays, God can do anything."

The biggest boost for Atlanta came from President Reagan: he announced the allocation of nearly $1 million in federal aid. Most of the money is intended to be used to try to prevent any more murders —by setting up facilities for homeless teen-agers and after-school care for about 1,000 youths in the areas where most of the murders have occurred. ■



At a rally in Atlanta, citizens march for a moratorium on murders

People are praying, the President is sending aid, but one more boy is dead.

Busing Blues

Transit mess in Birmingham

Jim Shaw, 40, lives in Birmingham and works across town at a flea market. Partly blind since birth, he sweeps floors for $2.75 an hour. Normally he pays 80¢ each way to take a bus, but last week he had to travel by cab. The cost: $13.35 round trip. Shaw was just one of about 11,000 commuters, most of them low-income blacks, who were stranded last week when Birmingham (pop. 285,000) became the largest city in the country to be without a public mass transit system.

Until the shutdown, the 201 buses of the Birmingham–Jefferson County Transit Authority served the city and seven municipalities. The buses were also the vehicle of desegregation for 1,300 of some 5,000 schoolchildren who take them every day. Last October the transit authority tried to close the yearly $1 million deficit by cutting back weekday service and eliminating Sunday service. In addition, it raised the fare from 35¢ to 80¢ in just one year. Then it turned to the Alabama legislature, but the lawmakers were not quick enough in finding new solutions. With funds dwindling, the transit authority shut down bus service, laying off 263 people.

Said State Representative Bill Cabaniss: "They are putting pressure on us. They could keep the buses running for a few more weeks." The legislature, in fact, is caught in a city-suburb battle. A year ago, the transit authority pleaded with Jefferson County legislators for a county-wide half-cent sales tax, with proceeds estimated at $8 million a year. But some of the area's more affluent towns wanted no transit system and no transit tax.

With the bus system in limbo, local churches have put 40 of their own buses into service, picking up passengers at 37 stops and taking them to city hall. The Yellow Cab Co. is transporting more than 3,000 students a day for 50¢ a ride. High schools with predominantly black enrollments reported that absenteeism was running no higher than usual.

The downtown area, however, is suffering visibly. Sales were off in department stores. Woolworth's estimates that 60% of its customers and 40% of its employees relied on buses. At Newberry's, where 30 or so regulars once took coffee at the snack bar every morning at 7:30, only a few have been coming in.

Birmingham, which has worked hard to change its image as a onetime citadel of Southern segregation, does not like the publicity. Notes Mayor Richard Arrington: "A story indicating a shutdown of buses in an area of over 700,000 people cannot be viewed in any vein except a negative one." Montgomery Mayor Emory Folmar seems to be taking note: last week he urged the city council to hike bus fares from 40¢ to 50¢. ■

Americana

United We Stand Around

For most Americans, a job is a social undertaking. On assembly lines and at construction sites, in offices and around operating tables, many hands make light work. Yet a team of psychologists has found that people may work harder when alone. In groups, the researchers say, Americans become "social loafers."

The team tested a group of Ohio State University students swimming laps, while others were making noise clapping and shouting. Each noisemaker let his output drop by half when he switched from solitude to a group of four. The researchers theorize that workers do poorly in a group because they know they will not be accountable for individual performance (the swimmers slowed down when they thought their personal times were unrecorded) or suspect that fellow workers are not working as hard as they. The experimenters believe social loafing could account for the slowed growth of American labor productivity. Says Drake Professor Kipling Williams: "What we're finding is that when people work collectively on a task, they put out less effort than if working alone." Williams neglected to mention whether the phenomenon is observable among teams of psychology professors

Bathroom Brouhaha

One of the more durable educational reforms won by the college generation of the 1960s was the coeducational dormitory—and that inevitable corollary, unisex bathrooms. At the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, for instance, some two-thirds of the 11,000 students in university housing share toilet facilities with members of the opposite sex. Now, however, the Old Morality seems to be making a comeback. Citing complaints from parents, state plumbing codes that seem to require separate facilities and changing attitudes among undergraduates, the university has announced that the showers will be resegregated. "With new student populations come new moralities," says Director of Residential Life Marjorie Lenn. Many students are not so sure. A coalition of male and female dorm residents plans to fight the proposed change, and the student senate has called for a debate on the matter. Complains Student Senator Freeman Woodson, class of '82: "I think the university is trying to kick us back to the Dark Ages." How far back? "To the year 1950," he says with a shudder

Extra Credit

In Allentown, Pa., five teen-agers have been charged with forgery in a scheme involving hundreds of counterfeit $1 and $5 bills that were printed in their high school shops. The extralegal, extra-credit work began when a junior at William Allen High School fashioned his aunt a novel Christmas gift: a "money tree," fluttering with $5 bills the boy had run off on the school's press. The boy's uncle promptly destroyed the present. But some of the artful student's classmates swiped hundreds of the spurious notes

Meanwhile, a sophomore student at nearby Lehigh Valley Vocational-Technical School printed up 300 false $1 bills on his own. He even took the precaution of including the legend "This Is Not Legal Tender" on his counterfeits. When the counterfeit currencies began appearing in local retail stores and restaurants—at least 36 fake bills were spent in all—somebody called the cops. (Finally even the U.S. Secret Service joined the investigation.) Allentown police arrested the bill passers—but not the two high school boys who had created the bogus scrip—and turned their cases over to juvenile authorities. The police at least gave the budding young printers good marks for their technically criminal craft. Said Lieut. Ronald Neimeyer: "The bills looked good. The quality and the color were not great, but they were absolutely perfect in every other respect." Maybe Johnny can't read, but he can print

Charmed Robbery

Kids say the darnedest things. Why, only the other day a nine-year-old named Robert—his surname remains undisclosed—marched into a busy midtown Manhattan bank and said, "This is a hold-up! Don't say a silent word!" The teller giggled—until the child leveled a silver automatic at her. "I have a gun and give me money," the boy insisted. After receiving $118, Robert smiled, said "Thanks," and ran off into history as the city's youngest bank robber

Accompanied by his lawyer, Robert surrendered to the FBI and was charged last week with armed robbery. Robert's lawyer, Mel Sachs, contends that the gun was a toy, and the robbery merely a game that went too far. Says Sachs: "He's not Public Enemy No. 1. He's a nine-year-old who was playing in the bank, and the money was handed over to him. He is a victim of the impact of television." If Robert had not given himself up, he might have escaped detection entirely. At 4 ft. 5 in., he was too short to be caught by the bank's security cameras

Busted Busman

Nearly every weekend, Phillip Sanders drove a busload of overnight gamblers some 200 miles from Oakland, Calif., to Reno, and back again. Sanders was arrested at the finish of his 37th trip and charged with grand theft and possession of stolen property: he had been driving buses that did not happen to belong to him. As a police official put it with considerable understatement, "He had a very low overhead."

To procure his weekly bus, Sanders would slip into a Greyhound driver's uniform, walk into the company yards, slip behind the wheel of an empty bus and rumble away. At trip's finish he returned the bus to its bay. The scheme might have rolled on indefinitely if Sanders had not dozed off that last afternoon. When he didn't pick up his passengers, one of them called Greyhound to find out why their bus was late

Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski outlining his country's economic problems before a government commission last week

EAST BLOC

Warsaw's New Crackdown

Prodded by the Kremlin, Poland moves to "reverse the course of events"

The Kremlin's patience seemed to be running out faster than sugar in a Warsaw supermarket. After a surprise meeting with Polish Party Boss Stanislaw Kania and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski in Moscow last week, Soviet leaders issued their toughest statement on Polish affairs since the outbreak of labor unrest eight months ago. The communiqué said that the Soviets expected their Polish comrades "to reverse the course of events and liquidate the perils looming over the socialist gains of the nation." The participants in the mini-summit, which was presided over by Leonid Brezhnev and attended by five Soviet Politburo members, also declared the "defense" of socialism to be "a matter not only for every single state but for the entire socialist community as well."

The sum of those two statements was a clear message: unless Poland's Communist leaders moved quickly to restore the party's control and to resist further concessions to the workers, their Soviet-bloc allies reserved the right to go in under the Brezhnev Doctrine and do it for them.

As East bloc newspapers bannered the Moscow communiqué on their front pages, tensions rose palpably in Western capitals. For the first time in five weeks, Reagan Administration officials publicly warned of the "grave consequences" of outside intervention. State Department Spokesman William J. Dyess expressed concern over Warsaw Pact maneuvers, due to take place in and around Poland in late March and early April. Though such war games are regularly held in the spring, Dyess said the Administration was "watching [the situation] very carefully" in light of the new Soviet pressure on Poland.

British officials saw considerable significance in the Soviets' failure to formally notify NATO countries of the impending maneuvers, as they are supposed to do under the 1975 Helsinki agreement. Whitehall analysts speculated that Moscow did not want any NATO observers around at what could be a critical moment in East-West relations. Most Western experts, including those in the U.S. State Department, doubted that armed intervention in Poland was imminent, but Moscow's words were a pointed reminder of the dangers that still threatened Poland after two weeks of tenuous labor calm.

Warsaw's leaders got the message. Less than 24 hours after Kania's Moscow meeting, the first signs of a new crackdown began to emerge. Shortly before 6 a.m. on Thursday, police arrested Jacek Kuron, 46, a leader of the KOR dissident group and a regular adviser to Solidarity, the independent union federation. Officials at the state prosecutor's office released Kuron seven hours later, after informing him that he was under investigation for slandering the state. He was also told to report to his local police station every Tuesday and Thursday—the days he is usually in Gdansk to work for Solidarity. Said Kuron's wife Grazyna: "Someone wants a row."

Dissident Leader Jacek Kuron

So it seemed. Next day police in Wroclaw attempted to serve a summons on another Solidarity adviser, Adam Michnik, a co-founder of KOR. Michnik, 38, refused to accept the document, which ordered him to appear at the state prosecutor's office in Warsaw in three days. In a move that heralded a possible direct worker-government confrontation, Solidarity's Wroclaw branch took Michnik under its own protection and provided him with a 30-man "workers' guard."

Not content to harass those two prominent dissident leaders, Polish authorities charged four members of an obscure right-wing organization with seeking to overthrow the state. The accused men, who were already serving jail terms, belonged to the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), a nationalistic group formed in 1979 with the avowed goal of ousting the Communists. Their leader, Leszek Moczulski, was arrested last September on charges of slandering the state in a magazine interview. The regime may not want to seek the maximum death penalty for the four, but it could decide that a show trial against them would be useful in appeasing Moscow.

Solidarity's national commission, meanwhile, called an emergency session in Warsaw on Saturday to shape its response to these antidissident moves. As it had done in the past, the commission seemed likely to issue a sharp warning against government harassment of its advisers. It might also launch scattered peaceful protests, such as putting up posters or handing out leaflets denouncing the police action. Having tacitly accepted Jaruzelski's Feb. 12 call for "90 days of calm," however, Solidarity's national leaders were probably reluctant to resort

to provocative strikes at this juncture —particularly in the wake of Moscow's menacing communiqué.

But national union leaders were having trouble reining in restive local chapters. Even before Kuron's arrest, workers in the textile center of Lodz declared a strike alert over the firing of five hospital employees. On Saturday, Lodz union officials scheduled a series of warning strikes for this week unless the five are rehired. The Solidarity chapter in Plock, meanwhile, prepared to issue a strike alert to protest censorship of their local union bulletin; entreaties from Warsaw union leaders, however, convinced them to hold off.

Then the first real crack appeared in Poland's shaky labor truce: Solidarity members in Radom, 60 miles south of Warsaw, laid down their tools for five hours at several plants. They were protesting the government's failure to prosecute officials responsible for repression against local workers following the 1976 food price riots. In an apparent effort to head off a spiraling new round of labor upheavals, Jaruzelski invited Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa to meet with him in Warsaw on Saturday.

Further labor-government friction seemed likely to arise over the long-awaited draft of a new trade-union law that was published last week. As stipulated in the historic Gdansk agreement that ended last summer's strikes, the new law would provide a statutory basis for the first independent trade unions in the East bloc. Yet the draft contains provisions that are certain to anger Solidarity. Among them: strikes will only be legal if approved by a majority of the workers and only after negotiations and Supreme Court arbitration have failed; strikers will get only half pay following any work stoppage unless and until lost production is made up; once every twelve months, parliament may declare a binding 60-day moratorium on strikes if it decides that an economic "emergency" exists. The last point gives the regime a powerful antistrike weapon, since Poland's debt- and shortage-ridden economy has been in trouble for months. Only last week the regime announced a drastic new sugar- and meat-rationing plan.

Perhaps the most serious defect in the proposed law is its failure to mention Rural Solidarity, the independent farmers' union. It was a potentially dangerous omission; peasant leaders were persuaded to end a seven-week sit-in in Rzeszow two weeks ago largely because Walesa assured them that the new labor law would provide for the legalization of their union.

Before it takes effect, the draft law will be subjected to a month of public debate and labor-government negotiations. Those promise to be stormy, since the union will surely push for further concessions—and the government, under Moscow's latest caveat, would be most unlikely to allow them. *—By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Richard Hornik / West Berlin*

Brezhnev: A One-Man Band

When Leonid Brezhnev summoned his Polish comrades to Moscow last week, he must have been feeling especially sure of himself: the 26th Soviet Communist Party congress had just finished showering him with glory. Through session after session, Brezhnev had listened impassively to a stream of eulogies on his "wisdom," his leadership, his "tireless" struggles for peace. Then after eight days it was over, and Brezhnev stepped to the podium last week to bring the congress to a close. Looking relatively vigorous and speaking forcefully, though with his usual slur, the 74-year-old leader announced his election as party chief for another five years. Then he called for "immense effort" from the 5,002 approving delegates in the Kremlin's vast Palace of Congresses. "Our supreme goal will be reached," he declared. "Communist society will be built."

Thus ended one of the least eventful party congresses in recent Soviet history, a gathering whose importance lay not in what it did but in what it did not do. It approved a new Five-Year Plan virtually devoid of any new approaches for tackling the Soviet Union's deepening economic woes. Unlike most past congresses, it admitted no fresh faces to the party's 14-member ruling Politburo (average age: 70). The congress was above all an affirmation of the status quo.

Brezhnev himself produced the only surprise at the congress in his keynote speech. His offer of "an active dialogue" with the U.S. and a resumption of the SALT process amounted to a change in tone, if not a change of policy. As most Kremlinologists saw it, the lack of strident anti-American diatribe demonstrated that Moscow is not anxious to provoke an immediate confrontation with the assertive new U.S. Administration. The Soviets insisted last week that Brezhnev's gesture was genuine. "He offered concrete, practical measures," a Central Committee official told TIME Moscow Bureau Chief Bruce W. Nelan. "We have extended our hand, and we await an answer."

On Moscow's other important front—the sclerotic Soviet economy—the congress broke no new ground at all. The 1981-85 economic plan recognizes that new growth can come only from increased productivity, and it requires each worker to be diligent, efficient and thrifty. But, such exhortations have been issued countless times before without conspicuously inspiring the labor force. "The congress did not really come to grips with any of the basic problems," says an analyst in Moscow. "The consumer was shown a future that is implicitly dismal. There is no sign of reapportioning resources, no adjustment in who gets a larger slice of the pie. There is no clue about how, specifically, they will deal with the shortage of labor and the need for higher productivity."

Nor was there any hint about Brezhnev's eventual successor. The cult of personality that surrounds the ailing leader may have reached its apogee at the congress. But his iron grip on the helm may doom the Kremlin to a nasty power struggle after his passing. "They are postponing the day of succession to the point that it will now be a blowup, rather than a gradual shift," predicts William Hyland of Georgetown's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

If significant rivalries do develop, they could seriously disrupt East-West relations. "I don't know whether it will change the direction of Soviet policies," says U.S. Sovietologist Seweryn Bialer, "but I will look for confrontations, divisions, splits—a volatile situation within the leadership. It will be a dangerous, unpredictable period."

Brezhnev and delegates applauding Young Pioneers, possible future party members

SAUDI ARABIA

Shoring Up the Kingdom

Confidence has returned, but the Saudis must wrestle with change

There are few nations in the world whose stability and friendship are as important to the West and the U.S. in particular as Saudi Arabia, the desert kingdom that harbors nearly a quarter of the world's proven oil reserves and furnishes 20% of American crude oil imports. Its importance is matched only by its strategic vulnerability, but in recent months the Saudis have been taking strong measures to reinforce themselves. Among other things, they have been rushing the new Reagan Administration—successfully, it turns out—to provide them with more sophisticated and controversial weaponry—specifically, extra equipment for 60 F-15 fighter-bombers they have contracted to buy. For this comprehensive assessment of the Saudis' new assertiveness, TIME *Middle East Bureau Chief William Stewart spent five weeks traveling throughout the country.*

For a time Saudi Arabia seemed to be adrift, threatening to become the new sick man of the Middle East. Its chain of adversity began with the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty that divided the Arab world, in whose spirited leadership, at least, the Saudis, keepers of Mecca, have always felt a special role. Then came the Islamic revolution that toppled the Shah of Iran, and by implication threatened conservative Muslim regimes everywhere. At home, a fanatical band of orthodox Muslims seized the Sacred Mosque at Mecca and occupied it for two weeks before Saudi armed forces could dislodge them. It was an act of rebellion and sacrilege unparalleled in the nation's 50-year existence. Finally a shooting war broke out between Iraq and Iran, further fracturing Islamic loyalties and threatening the region's stability.

But disorder and challenge have proved to be a spur; shaken confidence has turned into action. The Saudis have launched a three-pronged campaign, as one Western official put it, "to draw their wagons in a circle." In defense, to deter any attack against their oilfields, they have been trying to strengthen their inadequate armed forces with the best military hardware money can buy. In diplomacy, the Saudis have been trying to reduce their nearly exclusive dependence on the U.S. with an incipient gulf federation, a more active leadership role in the Arab world, and broadened new ties in Western Europe. Perhaps most important, they have been trying to come to grips with the potential for internal troubles by controlling the impact of breakneck development and foreign influence on their ultraconservative Muslim culture. As a result, Saudi leadership views the world from the palaces of Riyadh with considerably more confidence than it has in some time—and wants the world to know it. Concludes a long-experienced U.S. observer in Jidda: "The Saudis are determined to get the message across that they are not in immediate jeopardy." Concerned officials and experts in Washington and other capitals tend to agree. The outlines of the Saudis' tripartite campaign:

Defense. The aim of the Saudis' military program is to build a credible deterrent that would serve notice on any potential aggressor that a move against the country or its oilfields could bring swift retaliation. Their exposed position is obvious: 4,400 miles of difficult-to-defend borders encircled by strategic problems. To the north, two radical neighbors, Syria and Iraq. To the south, Marxist South Yemen, teeming with East bloc advisers. Across the gulf, revolutionary Iran, which regards the Saudi monarchy as corrupt and Saudi society as decadent. To defend itself in this cockpit, the Saudis can deploy a 45,000-man army, a 4,000-man navy and a 17,000-man air force. Even with the combined forces of friendly gulf states, that is still a military force smaller than that of The Netherlands.

U.S.-made F-15 fighter-bomber in steep climb

Couple shopping in Riyadh

Money is no problem; this year the Saudis have allocated $20.7 billion for defense. But they suffer from a serious military manpower shortage. To help deal with it, they have entered into military cooperation with the populous, pro-Western Islamic country of Pakistan. The Pakistani government is training Saudi officers and has furnished an estimated 1,000 advisers to the Saudis.

The U.S. has taken steps to reassure the Saudis that in the event of attack, help would be forthcoming. Last March the Carter Administration announced the formation of a Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force of 200,000 men, from which an expeditionary force could quickly be formed. To monitor Iranian air activity across the gulf after the Iraq-Iran war broke out last fall, Washington dispatched four AWACS radar early warning planes, along with 500 men to operate them. Last week the Reagan Administration took American commitment to the Saudis a big step forward: the State Department announced

that the U.S. would sell the Saudis at least some of the F-15 accessories they had been seeking. Included in the new equipment will be longer-range fuel tanks and air-to-air missiles. Still under discussion are bomb racks and refueling capability for the F-15s.

State Department Spokesman William Dyess said the agreement was justified because of "serious security conditions in the Middle East." Whether the sale can get congressional approval remains to be seen; many Congressmen have already expressed opposition. Israeli Ambassador to Washington Ephraim Evron promptly notified the U.S. of "his disappointment and concern over the decision," which he said would "exacerbate the arms race and increase the dangers for Israel." The Saudis were understandably elated because they had seen the proposed sale as a symbolic test of U.S. commitment to their defense. Saudi sensitivity on the question had been such that when Crown Prince Fahd was asked about congressional opposition, he had angrily exclaimed: "If American and other Western countries slam the door in our face, why not buy from the U.S.S.R.?"

The Saudis also feel that it makes good military sense to diversify the sources of their military equipment and support, and have looked to Europe for assistance. During the Mecca uprising, France supplied antiterrorist advisers to the Saudis, and West Germany is currently training Saudis in counterterrorist tactics. Now the Saudis are especially interested in such European-produced "next generation" weaponry as Leopard tanks from West Germany and the Super Mirage 4000s from France, and they are prepared to trade highly sweetened, long-term oil deals for them. Explains a West German defense contractor: "There's prestige in mere possession of such weapons systems. It strengthens their bona fides with other Arabs. And God knows the Saudis can afford them." In addition, in the Saudi view, if the West Europeans can also exert some leverage on the U.S., so much the better.

Diplomacy. The Saudi defense buildup is being matched by a major diplomatic effort that readily converts Riyadh's financial clout into political muscle. The Saudi diplomatic watchwords have traditionally been discretion and caution—so much so that Egyptian President Anwar Sadat occasionally upbraided the Saudi rulers as "afraid of their own shadows." Now, noting recent Saudi successes at carving out a mediating role for themselves in the region, one of Sadat's own advisers acknowledges that the Saudis are "no longer seen as weak reactionaries but have a newly acquired respectability."

In recent months, the Saudis have been meeting with five other Persian Gulf states* to lay the political underpinning for a proposed Gulf Council for Cooperation, which would bind the region with formal defense as well as economic and cultural ties. They have improved relations with a radical former adversary, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, to the extent that Riyadh was accused of complicity—or at least patent moral support—in Iraq's original assault against Iran. When tensions between Jordan's King Hussein and Syria's President Hafez Assad threatened an outbreak of hostilities early this winter, the Saudis skillfully stepped in and cajoled the saber-rattling neighbors into a wary détente. Some diplomats now believe that the Saudis may even be getting ready to make political peace with Sadat, with whom they broke relations in protest over the Camp David peace accord.

Saudi leaders recognize that Egypt could ultimately prove to be a crucial military ally in fending off Soviet advances in the gulf. The Egyptians, they realize, would also be indispensable to any comprehensive Middle East peace settlement that also provided a homeland for the 4.3 million Palestinians scattered throughout the Middle East. The Saudis regard the Palestinian problem as the principal threat to stability in the region, and it is hardly lost on the Saudi leadership that there are an estimated 100,000 Palestinians in their own country, many of them in highly skilled and influential jobs. Riyadh lately has also called for a jihad, or holy crusade, to liberate the occupied territories.

The Saudis' overriding political purpose is thus to persuade Washington to pressure Israel into working toward a solution to the Palestinian problem. U.S. officials were caught by surprise in 1973 when the Saudis joined OPEC in the oil embargo. Observers now caution that Washington should be under no illusion that the Saudis would not use their oil weapon again if they felt they had to. Moreover, the Saudis presently feel that the U.S. owes them a great deal for having increased oil production twice during the past two years—and at a price that is $4 per bbl. below that of the other major oil producers.

Domestic Policy. At home, an avalanche of petrodollars is confronting the Saudis with a profound dilemma: how to preserve the country's Islamic identity and conservative values in the face of a headlong, frequently pell-mell rush of development. The men who face this problem are the members of the royal House of Saud, which has ruled the kingdom of Saudi Arabia since 1932 and which, perhaps like no other dynasty in the world, has turned the running of a country into a family business. All key decision-making positions are held by the royal family, which consists of an estimated 5,000 princes. At the apex is King Khalid bin Abdul Aziz, 68, who has turned out to be surprisingly popular, projecting an image of old-fashioned rectitude and drinking countless cups of thick coffee while listening patiently to complaints and petitions during tours of remote provinces. If the King is a kind of chairman of the board, Crown Prince Fahd bin Abdul Aziz, 59, his half-brother, is chief executive officer. Amiable and energetic, he enjoys the exercise of power and, as one U.S. observer calculates, "is involved in more issues than anyone else, as the real day-to-day head of government."

The old Red Sea port of Jidda and the inland capital of Riyadh, each with a population of more than 1 million today, have become two of the fastest growing cities in the Middle East. Skyscrapers sprout from the desert landscape. Building cranes bristle across the horizon. Multi-lane high-

*Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates

In Dammam, a modern public housing complex rises in the desert; in Riyadh, a National Guard unit lines up in front of armored vehicles

Virginia Slims remembers when women first went to work in the stock market.

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ways and ringroads girdle the cities. Old neighborhoods change dramatically in a matter of weeks; new ones spring up overnight. The din of traffic and construction, residents complain, makes it virtually impossible to sleep after 6 a.m.

In the cacophony, the clash of old and new, of Islamic and Western ways, is harsh and sometimes bizarre. A $500 million 200-unit apartment complex in Jidda has yet to be occupied nearly a year after completion, because religious conservatives objected to the lack of separate elevators for women. Concedes the city's young mayor, Mohammed Said Farsi, an architect educated in Egypt and Britain: "Our biggest problem has been too rapid expansion."

Ruling royals: Prince Abdullah, Crown Prince Fahd, King Khalid

The government's current $285 billion five-year plan puts the emphasis on diversification to reduce the overwhelming dependence on oil exports in the future. Huge industrial cities are under construction, one at Jubail on the Persian Gulf, the other at Yanbu on the Red Sea. By the end of the century, the two cities are to accommodate five new refineries, seven petrochemical facilities, a hydrocarbon fertilizer plant and an iron and steel complex.

To keep the economy booming, and to perform the menial tasks that the Saudis are loath to perform for themselves, the country finds it increasingly necessary to rely on an estimated 1.7 million foreign workers. There are Yemenis, Pakistanis, Indians, Koreans, Filipinos and some 45,000 Americans, fully 43% of the Saudi labor force. But the uprising at Mecca, in which a number of foreigners participated, frightened the Saudis. Today, guest workers must have both a sponsor and a specific job before entering the country. Most are not able to bring their families, and aspire only to earn a nest egg quickly and return home. But in time the government will have to turn to more and more foreigners to staff its massive construction and industrial projects. Long-term workers, in turn, will want to start settling down, and that will make foreign influences felt more strongly.

With lavish paternalism, the government has undertaken a huge program to rehouse the population, with 200,000 apartment units and individual houses. Almost anyone who wants to build a new house can readily obtain a $100,000 loan, interest-free, repayable over 20 years. University students receive $200 monthly stipends. Even so, many schools find it hard to keep students, because going into business has become a national pastime. Reports a Western businessman: "Officials of Aramco (Arabian-American Oil Company) and Saudia, the national airline, complain that Saudi employees stay only until they have learned how to make money, then they leave."

Corruption has become pervasive. An ever widening "inner circle" around the royal family takes advantage of their powerful connections to line personal coffers (*see* ECONOMY & BUSINESS). "Corruption is eating away at values," complains a U.S. businessman. The Saudis themselves reflect sadly that "extravagance is out of hand" and "people are becoming time- and money-conscious." Cultural clash has been wrenching for women. Fathers complain that many daughters are too readily throwing off traditionalist values, and their veils. The government is promoting better, though segregated, educational opportunities for women. But then they are not allowed to work where they could come into contact with strange men; everything from law offices to banks is off-limits. The only approved professions for women are in education, welfare and nursing.

AZZ — WOODY H CAMP

Foreign faces: European foreman talks with Korean worker

The clash of old and new is harsh and sometimes bizarre.

Fabulous oil wealth. Bureaucrats and businessmen on the make. An absolutist monarchy. Billions of dollars for military hardware. To many, it all seems to evoke a formula disturbingly like the Shah's Iran. The Saudis, however, argue that, for all their problems, their essential situation is different: 1) The Shah ran a strictly one-man show and remained aloof from his people, whereas King Khalid and the senior princes keep close contact with the populace by means of regular audiences known as *majlis*. 2) The Shah alienated the Muslim clergy, but the Saudi dynasty has financed them and often married into their families. 3) The Shah built a formidable military machine, but oil wealth did nothing for the common people; the Saudis, on the other hand, have made sure that wealth is spread through all sectors of society.

Concludes Hisham Nazer, the Minister of Planning, confidently: "It was the lack of development in Iran that was the problem, not rapid development. The Shah built a navy, but he didn't build houses. In Saudi Arabia we have built 200,000 houses. Development here concentrates on wealth filtering down."

Some Saudis feel that if there is a threat to the country, it could come, even within two to three years, from the overloading of an antiquated central government. With all power vested in the hands of a few family members, the fear is that the ruling structure could develop a "soft center" that could collapse under the sheer weight of decisions required by the complexities of a modern economy. And in that event, the way would be open for external subversion.

But most remain optimistic that the House of Saud will see the need and adapt in time, even encouraging the development of more broadly based political institutions. If there is anything to mourn, it may be the passing of the old Saudi Arabia. Already there is a detectable sense of regret for a lost way of life that can never be recaptured. "If you go to the tribes now," says a Saudi technocrat, "you will find gentlemen Bedouins, like gentlemen farmers, who hire a caretaker for the sheep while they enjoy the luxuries of their new villa." But then he notes with hopeful satisfaction that after Hawaii, after Los Angeles, after Europe, many Saudis are returning to cherish some of the old ways, "to be religious, to be—what shall I say?—humble. The spirit, the core is still there." —*By Marguerite Johnson*

SPAIN

A Worry: The Next Coup

Madrid's post-putsch euphoria has faded fast

From the way Spain's political leaders were behaving, it was hard to believe that democracy had just triumphed over a carefully planned coup attempt. No profound sense of relief pervaded the nation. Instead, the briefly celebrated victory seemed to be turning sour in the realization that, far from being dispelled, the threat of another uprising by *franquista* military leaders persisted. So cautious was the government in dealing with rebellious elements that, only days after the 18-hour, Feb. 23 takeover of the Spanish parliament by gun-toting soldiers, one neo-fascist agitator was bold enough to declare at a rally that the plotters' jails should be regarded as "temples of honor."

In this explosive atmosphere, the new Prime Minister, Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo, chose to proceed as if he were walking through a minefield—which he was. To assert civilian control over restive soldiers, Calvo-Sotelo had to crack down on the known conspirators, but not so hard as to trigger another putsch. To remove the roots of discontent in the armed forces, he also needed to show rapid progress in curbing the Basque separatist terrorists, whose bloody attacks against the paramilitary Guardia Civil and police had inflamed the *franquista* officers. Here too, Calvo-Sotelo had a problem.

As soon as the coup collapsed, "moderate" Basque separatists, fearing a subsequent and successful military takeover, announced a cease-fire and released three foreign consuls they had held hostage for eight days. But more militant guerrillas blew up a national police patrol car in the Basque town of Portugalete, injuring three policemen; a few days later they killed the police chief of Bilbao. As pressure mounted from the right to declare a state of emergency in the Basque region, Calvo-Sotelo flew to Bilbao to pay respects to the dead man's family.

The Prime Minister, 54, a conservative technocrat from one of Spain's most prominent political families, has tried to fill the power vacuum created by the resignation of Adolfo Suárez six weeks ago with what aides describe as "calm preoccupation." He has named a Cabinet of holdovers from the Suárez government, but he has also undertaken a round of consultations with opposition leaders.

Socialist Chief Felipe González, backed by Communist Party Boss Santiago Carrillo, renewed an earlier offer to help form a grand-coalition government "to save democracy" until the next elections, slated for 1983. González pointed out that between the Socialists and Calvo-Sotelo's ruling Union of the Democratic Center Party, such a government could claim the support of 80% of the electorate. "The time has come now," said González, "and the warning light has been lit." But, once again, Calvo-Sotelo rejected the offer, evidently out of fear that such a coalition would be too left of center for the military to tolerate. Despite the failed coup, the military's clout in Madrid remains as great as ever.

For some officers and their civilian supporters on the extreme right, Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina, the mustachioed Guardia Civil officer who led the attack on the Cortes, already was something of a hero. Spray-can salutes to "Tejero the Brave" appeared on walls all over Madrid. He and 27 other officers—among them four generals, two colonels and a navy captain—have been arrested as participants in the *golpe*. The plotters are hardly being treated harshly. General Jaime Milans del Bosch, former head of the Valencia military region and a key figure in the rebellion, is being held at the military headquarters at Getafe, near Madrid. He has been given the commanding officer's quarters and has been permitted to entertain guests and bring any personal possessions he wants from his Madrid home.

Tejero's fate has not been much worse. The military prison at Alcalá de Henares, east of Madrid, where he was being held, was described in the Spanish press as a "four-star jail." Reached by telephone, Tejero told a reporter that he was in "splendid" shape.

The government has named an air force general, José María García Escudero, to head the investigation of the failed coup. He says he hopes to have a case ready within the next two weeks. Meanwhile, in the welter of fact and surmise that followed the uprising, one thought ran through the conversations of political leaders and army men—the next attempt.

No one questioned that only the deep personal loyalty to the King among senior officers had prevented the rebellion from succeeding. Perhaps with that in mind, Juan Carlos made his first post-coup appearance in northeast Spain at the Saragossa Military Academy, where he took his cadet training in the 1950s. Verging on tears at some points, the King noted that he relied on Spain's soldiers "to be able to interpret the constitution with accuracy, and to understand that thoughtless actions cannot contribute to the security of the nation." For the King and for Spanish democracy, the question is whether that message will be heeded by the younger officers—colonels and captains—who share the passionate views of their elders but not their old-fashioned loyalties. —*By Frederick Painton. Reported by Jane Walker/Madrid*

The King with his three children at the Saragossa Academy

Calvo-Sotelo addressing the parliament after the rebellion

In the welter of fact and surmise that followed the uprising, one thought ran through the conversations of politicians and army men

Mazda 1981

The new Mazda RX-7. Just one look and you'll see its incredible value versus Porsche 924 or Datsun 280ZX.

Think for a moment of all you expect in a fine sports car. Then compare your expectations with all you actually get in the Mazda RX-7.

The sleek style you expect is all there. Including many new exterior refinements. The look is clean and *functional.* In fact, the RX-7's aerodynamics have never been better.

Inside, there's a new instrument cluster and more-convenient gearshift lever.

The performance you expect is also there. 0 to 60 happens in a quick 8.6 seconds. Handling is superb, too. The compact rotary engine is placed *behind* the front axle, for ideal weight distribution.

You expect good mileage. Instead, the front, mid-engine RX-7 offers *great* mileage. In fact, 24% better gas mileage than last year. And with its increased fuel tank capacity, you have an estimated highway driving range of almost 500 miles.

21 EST. mpg **30** EST. hwy mpg **

Of course, you also expect a lot of features. And our long list won't disappoint you in the least.

The RX-7 does, however, come with one thing most people don't expect: a price that makes it an absolutely astonishing value.

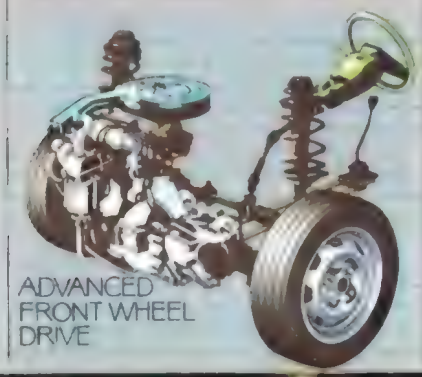
The RX-7 GS comes with all this. And more. • 2-speaker AM/FM stereo radio • Power antenna • 5-speed overdrive transmission • Steel-belted radials • Dual remote-control sideview mirrors • Halogen headlights • Front and rear stabilizer bars • Analogue quartz clock • Tachometer • Remote-control fuel filler door release • Electric remote hatch release • Power-assisted front disc, self-adjusting rear drum brakes • Dual covered stowaway lockers • Luggage hold-down strap • Map, cargo and glove compartment lights

**EPA estimates for comparison purposes for standard RX-7's. The mileage you get may vary with trip length, speed and weather. The actual highway mileage will probably be less. California: 20 Est. mpg, 30 Est. hwy. mpg. 25% better than '80.

Mazda's rotary engine licensed by NSU-WANKEL

The all-new front-wheel-drive Mazda GLC. Just one look and you'll see its remarkable value versus Rabbit, Jetta or Civic.

In a world of good economy cars, Mazda announces a *great* one. The all-new Mazda GLC was conceived, engineered and built to be nothing less than the new state of the art in front-wheel-drive technology. And signals important new advances in what you can expect—and should look for—in a car of this class.


ADVANCED FRONT WHEEL DRIVE

Starting with the basic concepts and inherent advantages of the transverse-engine, front-wheel-drive configuration, Mazda engineers have redesigned, re-engineered and refined many major component areas. Like a more powerful yet more economical 1.5 litre engine. Advanced 4-wheel independent suspension. And a redesigned rack-and-pinion steering system. The result is a sophisticated, high-quality front-wheel-drive car that may surprise you. Especially if you've driven others.

The all-new GLC is fun to drive. The steering is light and precise. The shifting is quick and positive.

GLC Sport
$6095*

The turning diameter is one of the shortest around. And the interior is one of the roomiest in its class. In fact, this GLC is actually bigger, faster, lighter, more aerodynamic and quieter than its predecessor.

35 EST. mpg **43** EST. hwy mpg **

Yet, importantly it also offers substantially increased gas mileage.

New GLC Sedan (below) has an elegance of its own. If you want a GLC, but you want it with a trunk, this one's for you. The new GLC Sedan offers economy and refinement. But don't let these posh looks fool you. GLC Sedans are just as sprightly and sporty in the performance department as their hatchback brothers.

When you're looking at economy cars, test-drive the all-new front-wheel-drive Mazda GLC. One drive may change your expectations of how refined an economy car can be. And one look at its competition will show you its remarkable value.

GLC Custom: a new generation of technical sophistication in front-wheel-drive economy cars.

- New 1.5 litre overhead cam 4-cylinder engine
- Rack-and-pinion steering
- Power-assisted front disc brakes
- 4-wheel independent suspension
- Steel-belted radials
- Split fold-down rear seat backs
- Electric rear window defroster
- Cut-pile carpeting
- Remote-control driver's door mirror

SEDAN TRUNK IS ALMOST 2 FT. DEEP

GLC Sport has even more:

- 5-speed overdrive transmission
- Extra-wide tires and wheels
- Special Sport wheel covers
- Tachometer
- Tilt steering wheel
- Halogen headlights
- Wide black body-side mouldings

*Manufacturer's suggested retail prices. Actual prices set by dealers. Taxes, license, freight, options (RX-7 alloy wheels $320-$325; 626 Coupe wide tires and covers $150) and other dealer charges extra. Prices may change without notice. Availability at dealers of vehicles with specific features may vary.

**EPA estimates for comparison purposes for GLC Custom 3-Door with 4-speed transmission. The mileage you get may vary with trip length, speed and weather. The actual highway mileage will probably be less. GLC Custom 5-Door, Custom Sedan and Sport with 5-speed, [illegible] Est. mpg, 45 Est. hwy. mpg

New GLC Custom Sedan
$5895*

626 Sport Coupe
$7095*

The Mazda 626. Just one look and you'll see its exceptional value versus Celica, Accord or BMW.

The Mazda 626 seems to do everything well. Its road manners are impeccable. Its ride is that of a full-size car. Its looks are classic—like some of Europe's most refined road cars. Especially now with the subtle new exterior changes. Inside, there's a redesigned instrument cluster plus many new seat and trim refinements. And its mileage is 17% improved.

28 EST. mpg **39** EST. hwy mpg **

If all you want is everything, including value, take a look at the 626 Sport Coupe and Sport Sedan. Also now in Luxury versions. • 2.0 litre overhead cam 4-cylinder engine • Power-assisted front disc brakes • Steel-belted radial tires • 5-speed overdrive transmission (3-speed automatic optional) • AM/FM stereo radio • Split fold-down rear seat backs • Driver's seat with adjustable lumbar support • Remote control trunk release • Front and rear stabilizer bars • Tinted glass • Rear window defroster • Reminder chime for headlights left on • Intermittent-action windshield wipers • Electric quartz clock

**EPA estimates for comparison purposes for standard 626's. The mileage you get may vary with trip length, speed and weather. The actual highway mileage will probably be less

mazda

The more you look, the more you like.

626 Sport Sedan
$6795*

BRITAIN

Having a Party

A centrist force is born

As he rose to address his colleagues in the House of Commons one evening last week, former Foreign Secretary David Owen's hands trembled visibly. Over the years he had spoken on countless occasions from his accustomed place on the Labor Party's front bench. This time, standing at a physical and political remove from his old colleagues, Owen launched the new Social Democratic Party, a movement that could change the face of British politics.

The previous day, Owen and eleven other Members of Parliament had resigned from the Labor Party. When they formally constitute themselves as the Social Democrats within the next month, they will become the first significant national party to be formed in Britain since Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists in 1932. For Labor, it was the most dramatic defection since 1931, when Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald led a walkout in order to head a national government.

The rebellion was led by four former Labor Cabinet ministers who put their careers on the line in order to spotlight their deep dismay at the increasing power of the far left in the Labor Party. The first to bolt was Shirley Williams, former Education Secretary and for years one of Labor's most popular front benchers. She resigned last month from the Labor national executive committee, declaring pointedly that "the party I loved and worked for no longer exists." She was followed by Owen, former Transportation Minister William Rodgers, and onetime Deputy Party Leader and Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. For the present, the four plan to share the new party's leadership.

With their twelve Commons seats, the Social Democrats already have a presence in Parliament, where they rank as the third largest group, ahead of the Liberals (eleven seats) though far behind the Conservatives (337 seats) and Labor (255). At the party's seven-room London headquarters, plans are being pressed to enlist the aid of the "millions of people" who Owen believes will back the Social Democrats. A team of 25 volunteers were answering 30,000 letters from prospective party members. The total contributions to date: $132,000.

Social Democrat Owen

The Social Democrats' hopes for real power rest with their plan for an alliance with the Liberals, with whom they share the middle road between Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's doctrinaire capitalism and the increasingly far-left leanings of the Labor Party. Britons like the alternative of a Liberal-Social Democrat coalition; in the latest Gallup poll that combination won an approval rating of 44%, which was 17 points ahead of either of the major parties.

Though the Social Democratic movement was being dimissed only weeks ago by both Labor regulars and Tories as a press creation and a fruitless exercise by a few elitists, no one is laughing now at what the party might achieve. Labor's leader, Michael Foot, pleaded with the defectors "until the twelfth hour" not to leave the party, but the appeal came too late. The Tories are equally fearful that some of their own restive dissidents may find their way to the Social Democrats. Conservative Party Chairman Lord Thorneycroft last week issued a letter asking Tories to stick with their party despite the government's present economic difficulties.

The leader of the Liberals, David Steel, now faces the delicate challenge of persuading his party to let the newly minted Social Democrats take the field uncontested in some promising constituencies. That is a generosity not without risk. The new party brings to the political hustings two vital attributes the Liberals lack: momentum and credibility. The long-established Liberals may find themselves the junior partner in the new coalition. ■

Did Fidel Push the Button?

Communists like their leaders to be larger than life and to have accomplishments to match. For example, China's Chairman Mao Tse-tung made a big splash in 1966, when at age 72 he reportedly swam nine miles down the Yangtze River. Then Rumania's Party Boss Nicolae Ceauşescu made hunting history in 1978 by bagging the largest bear ever shot in Europe. Now it appears that Fidel Castro too can boast of a fancy feat. During the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, he is said to have shot down singlehanded an American U-2 plane.

That is what Carlos Franqui, a Cuban emigré writer living in Italy, contends in *Family Portrait*, a chronicle of the Castro years to be published in Spain next month. According to Franqui, an old Castro comrade who left Cuba years ago in anger over Moscow's increasing influence, the incident occurred Oct. 27, 1962, at the height of the U.S.-Soviet confrontation over the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba. On that day, the Cuban President was visiting a Soviet missile base in Pinar del Rio, southwest of Havana. When a U-2 appeared on the base's radar, Castro asked the Soviets how to shoot down an attacking plane. The officers obligingly showed him the button that would fire off an SA-2 ground-to-air missile. Suddenly, Castro pushed the button. A missile went up and, Franqui writes dryly, "the plane came down amidst the consternation of the generals." The U-2's pilot, Air Force Major Rudolph Anderson Jr., was the only known U.S. combat casualty of the six-day crisis.

Military funeral for U-2 Pilot Anderson in 1962

Castro

Why would Castro have fired the missile? Franqui writes that Castro went to the base "with intent" to create an incident that would tell him if "there was going to be a war or not." While the U-2 downing was no secret, there has never been any hint before that Castro fired the missile, nor any corroboration now of the Franqui version. U.S. intelligence officials find Franqui's account "intriguing" but point out that if Castro did push the button, the SA-2 would not have hit the plane unless the Soviets had already been tracking it on radar and taken other steps to ensure a kill.

Clearing the Nation's Air

What the chemical industry is doing to help clean up the air you breathe

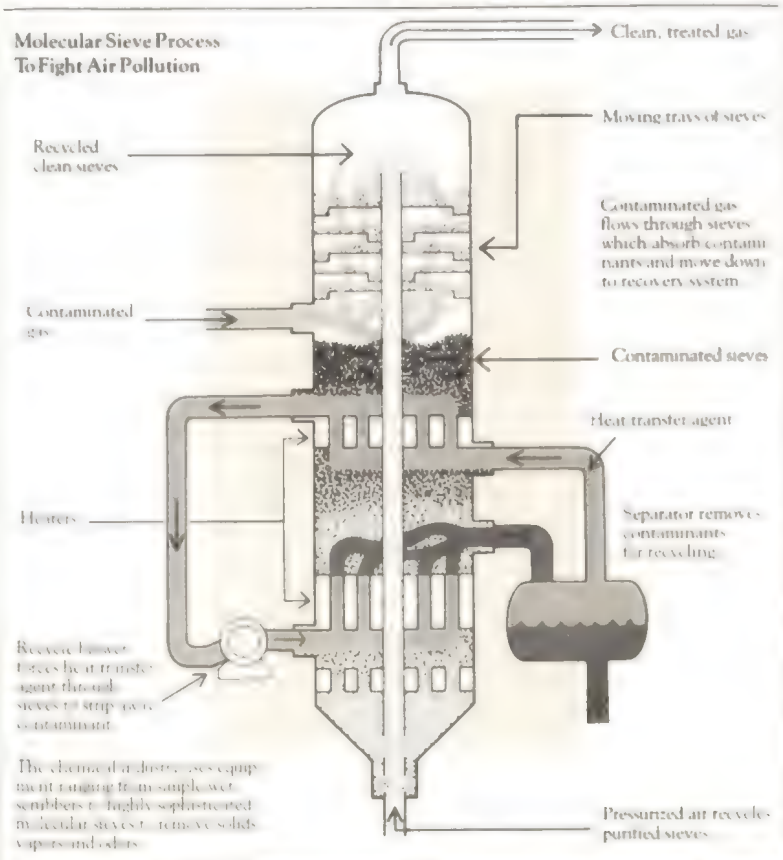
Today, almost all of our industry's plants meet or exceed Environmental Protection Agency clean air requirements. But we're not stopping there. Here are some of the ways we're helping America breathe easier:

1. Committing billions to clean up

The chemical industry is investing more than any other U.S. manufacturing industry in fighting pollution, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Since 1976, we've doubled our investment in air pollution control equipment. By the end of 1979, this commitment exceeded $2.6 billion. We are also investing millions of dollars in environmental research. The expenditures for one research program alone are expected to exceed $9 million by the end of 1980.

2. Upgrading plants and processes

New plant construction includes sophisticated equipment and technology. Older, existing plants are being refitted with additional equipment to improve emission control and meet environmental requirements. We're also finding ways to recycle emissions to create useful raw materials.



3. Trapping particulates more effectively

A scrubber at one company helps trap more than 1,300 tons of particulate sulfur each year. Electrostatic precipitators help reduce fly ash emissions by nearly 100 percent. "Baghouses," which operate like household vacuum cleaners, also help keep dusts and solid particles from contaminating the air.

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Research is helping us find new and better ways to control gaseous wastes. For example: a highly specialized molecular sieve recovers waste sulfur dioxide from the vent gas of sulfuric acid plants for recycling into the acid-making process. Special incinerators help control odorous gases. We've created compounds which can trap specific kinds of pollutant molecules.

5. Getting more employees involved

We have more than 10,000 employees whose sole job is to operate, maintain and monitor pollution control equipment. And we add to this number each year. At one facility, employee programs encouraged ideas which helped eliminate 75,000 tons of air pollutants each year.

For a booklet that tells more about what we're doing to protect the environment write: Chemical Manufacturers Association, Dept. GT-103, P.O. Box 363, Beltsville, Md. 20705

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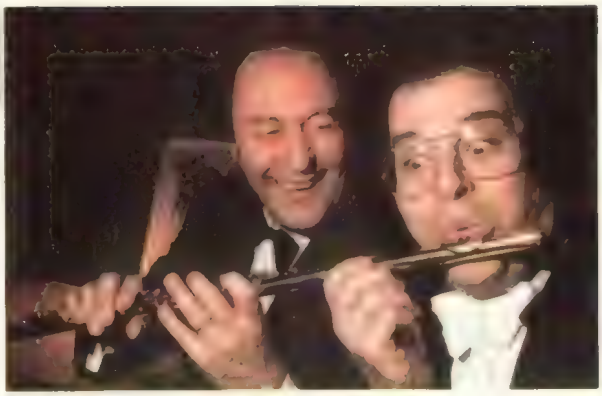

The first Rampal-Perlman duet—strictly 14 karat

Despite their longstanding friendship, Violin Virtuoso **Itzhak Perlman** and famed Flutist **Jean-Pierre Rampal** have never played in concert together. But between rehearsals at Carnegie Hall for their separate performances on *Gala of Stars*, a public-television special airing this month, the two finally attempted a duet—a four-handed *Flight of the Bumblebee* on Rampal's 14-karat flute. "He's not too bad," said Rampal of his pal, though the performance was "not for musical purposes." Said Perlman, who just won four Grammy Awards, "We could have done better if I had been thinner. Then he could have gotten his arms around me and breezed through the fingerwork."

■

When his birthday rolls around, **Theodor Seuss Geisel** usually hides out in Las Vegas to avoid being "smothered with love." Rather Grinch-like behavior for the author adored by children the world over as Dr. Seuss, but better than facing truckloads of treacly fan mail and thousands of pint-size pilgrims on his doorstep. Last week, however, the good "doctor" turned 77 at home in La Jolla, Calif., braving an avalanche of affection that was greater than ever. The reason: Governors of 15 states had declared March 2 Dr. Seuss Day. Indiana's **Robert Orr** went so far as to dine on green eggs and ham—favorite feast of Seuss's Sam-I-Am. Shudders Geisel: "If all the Governors take to eating green eggs and ham, I am sort of fearful about the future of this country."

Birthday Grinch Dr. Seuss

It seemed a pity to waste that distinguished shock of white hair. So, as long as it did not seem destined to bob around the Oval Office, what better place for it than television? Or so, it seems, thought the folks at WLS-TV, the ABC-owned station in Chicago, when they hired defeated independent Presidential Candidate **John Anderson**, 59, as a political commentator. Recalling one criticism of his stump performance, the former Illinois Congressman once again pledged an Anderson difference: "I firmly promise that I won't preach." But no sooner did the cameras start to roll than Reverend John was back sermonizing, this time on the follies of the Reagan economic program. That aside, the performance was as smooth as the whir of a blow dryer. The only tough moment came during a commercial break following a segment on **Rita Jenrette's** tale of congressional philandering. "Say, John," hollered Anchorman **Fahey Flynn**, "how did you stay in Washington so long without getting into trouble?" Anderson was clearly embarrassed: "I can't say. My wife is in the control room."

The Anderson coif gets a final touch from Wife Keke before the debut

Rooney clowns with Cooper, his director in *Leave 'Em Laughing*

According to **Jackie Cooper**, 58, **Mickey Rooney** "hasn't changed a bit" since the two co-starred in *The Devil Is a Sissy* back in 1936. Directing his fellow child star in the TV movie *Leave 'Em Laughing*, Cooper found that Rooney, 60, "still prepares for a scene by cracking people up on the set with funny, sometimes raunchy stories—right up to the moment I yelled 'Action!'" In the film, Rooney portrays the late **Jack Thum**, a Chicago clown who struggled to support the 37 homeless children he and his wife took in. The role was a natural for Rooney, an inveterate clown who "loves children"—and has ten of his own. *—By Claudia Wallis*

On the Record

Dolly Parton, singer, to a Las Vegas audience: "You have no idea the money that went into making this wig look cheap."

Hugh Jacobsen, architect, on the publicity surrounding his latest project, a spacious home on Martha's Vineyard for Jackie Onassis: "Even the plumber has held press conferences to display his bathroom plans."

George Burns, 85, comedian, on standing ovations: "These days I get an ovation for just standing. And if I stand on one foot, they never sit down."

He's about all I need to know about fixing my GM car.
Mr. Good
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GENERAL MOTORS PARTS DIVISION

It's good to know Mr. Goodwrench.

Mr. Goodwrench has General Motors training available and he has the right equipment in his shop. He knows how to analyze problems. Fix them. And get me back on the road, pronto!

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Ablution Without Absolution

India's Jains give a lavish bath to a 1,000-year-old idol

Well before daybreak thousands of the faithful begin toiling up 614 stone steps cut into a hillside in the southern Indian town of Shravanabelagola. Their goal: an open-air temple housing the great, gray granite statue of the Lord Bahubali, believed by them to be the first mortal in this epoch to have reached the state of kevala (nirvana—or liberation). The statue is 58 ft. 8 in. high and 1,000 years old. Its 11-ft. head is covered with gently swirling curls. Its ears are elongated. The eyes are open in a sightless stare of introspection. Lord Bahubali, also known as Gomateshwara (Beautiful Lord), is digambara (literally, sky-clad), meaning naked.

Pilgrims assembled from all over India are about to witness the Maha Mastakabisheka (Great Head Bathing) of Jainism, the least-known and most rigorous of India's three ancient religions. Jain idols are ritually washed each day. But the Great Head Bathing in Shravanabelagola occurs only every twelve to 14 years, in part because the statue is huge and the ingredients required for the purification ceremony are so rich and various. In the course of three days, pilgrims pour 79 gal. each of milk, coconut water and sugarcane juice, as well as 992 lbs. of multicolored spices and dyes, over the statue.

The first of 1,008 pilgrims to pour holy water is Calcutta Businessman Pannalal Ratanlal Gangwal, who paid $12,500 for the honor to help meet the festival's expenses. Others paid the same or lesser amounts. Smiles burst upon the faces of the onlookers, and cheering breaks out as water glitters down. The high point is the pouring of the milk. As the rivulets flow down the huge body, the face appears to change its impassive expression to one of exaltation. The crowd breathes a long "Oh-h-h-h" of reverence. The flood of yellow dye seems to turn that expression to a slight smile; the sandalwood gives the idol a stern visage. With a shower of flower petals and bits of gold and silver leaf, the rite is ended. On a prebath visit, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, too, dropped petals—from a helicopter.

The Great Head Bathing, explains A.R. Nagaraj of the organizing committee, brings no absolution from sin. It propitiates no gods (indeed, Jainism has no gods). Most important, it does not help remove the oppressive cumulative weight of individual misdeeds known not only to Jains but to Hindus and Buddhists as karma. In all three faiths, karma is the force that compels a soul to undergo ceaseless reincarnations.

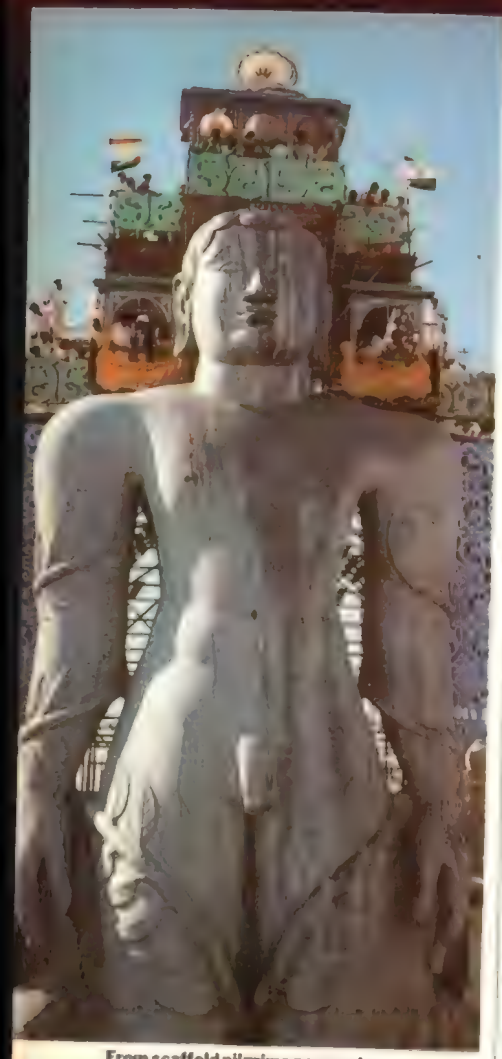
The search for ways of escape from karma is what separated both Buddhists and Jains from the Hindu Brahmans during the 6th century B.C. While the Hindus offered ritual, meditation and devotion to the gods, the other two religions taught that karma and reincarnation could be escaped through the willed elimination of ego and desire. But Jainism proposed so radical an asceticism that, unlike Buddhism, it did not become a popular world faith. Today Jains in India number only an estimated 3 million (*vs.* 5 million Buddhists, 570 million Hindus). But Jainism's pre-eminent discipline, ahimsa (nonviolence), deeply influenced Mahatma Gandhi and altered the course of Indian history. Some Jain monks and laity are so scrupulously nonviolent that they wear face masks to avoid inadvertently swallowing and killing innocent insects, each of which bears a soul. Since farming kills minute organisms through tilling and flooding the land, lay followers of Jainism historically have gone into business. Because of their emphasis on self-mortification, Jains are thrifty and abstemious, and have become one of the wealthiest groups in India.

Prime Minister Gandhi with "sky-clad" monk

Scrupulous care that not a germ is killed.

The Great Head Washing is arranged by the most conservative wing of Jainism, the Digambara. The highest monks wear no clothes because, like the Lord Bahubali of old, they entirely shun personal possessions. In their self-denial, Jain monks never bathe, brush their teeth or sleep on a bed. A few actually starve themselves to death.

Digambara laymen are not expected to endure such privations. But, they believe, this slackness and worldliness mean they will be obliged to live numberless future lives, seeking purification. Says S.P. Jain, who is both the organizer of the ritual and—in this life—head of a major chemical company: "No one here today will be here on the next 1,000th anniversary in this form. But I'll be here in some other form." *—By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Marcia Gauger/Shravanabelagola*



From scaffold pilgrims pour water over statue

Then yellow dye; below, devotee touches toes

Photographs for TIME by Mehta—Contact

Milestones

SEEKING DIVORCE. Loni Anderson, 34, the sexy blond receptionist on TV's *WKRP in Cincinnati;* and Actor **Ross Bickell,** 35; after seven years of marriage, no children; in Los Angeles. Says Anderson: "It all came down to the fact that he was being called Loni Anderson's husband. That's not good for any man."

DIED. Ahmed Badawi, 53, Egyptian Defense Minister and armed forces commander in chief, who became a national hero after leading an assault division across the Suez Canal to storm the Bar-Lev line during the 1973 war with Israel; when his helicopter crashed during a routine inspection tour, killing 13 other senior Egyptian commanders and hence all but wiping out the country's military leadership; in Egypt's western desert

DIED. Benjamin S. Kelsey, 74, aeronautical engineer, leading test pilot and retired Air Force brigadier general, who in 1929 assisted James Doolittle in the first "blind" instrument takeoff and landing, set a speed record in 1938 when he flew from Dayton to Buffalo at an average speed of 350 m.p.h. in an Army pursuit plane, and helped develop combat tactics for U.S. fighters in World War II; of cancer; in Stevensburg, Va

DIED. Saul K. Padover, 75, educator, historian and leading authority on both Thomas Jefferson and Karl Marx (although he espoused the political philosophy of Jefferson only), who painstakingly re-created the emotional and intellectual lives of his subjects in such books as *A Jefferson Profile* (1956) and *Karl Marx: An Intimate Biography* (1978); after a stroke; in New York City

DIED. E.Y. ("Yip") **Harburg,** 82, song lyricist who wrote the witty, often wistful words to the movie musical *The Wizard of Oz* and to Broadway's *Finian's Rainbow,* as well as to such tunes as *It's Only a Paper Moon* and *April in Paris;* in an automobile accident; in Los Angeles. The New York City–born Harburg, who won an Academy Award in 1939 for *Oz's Over the Rainbow,* remained productive and outspoken through the '60s and '70s, deploring the newer generations of songsmiths for their "lack of craftsmanship, their imitative music and poor rhymes."

DIED. Rebecca C. Lancefield, 86, bacteriologist, who in 1928 was the first to identify which streptococci are chiefly responsible for causing human disease, and systematically went on to categorize more than 60 different types, including those that cause strep throat, scarlet fever, rheumatic fever and glomerulonephritis, an inflammation of the kidneys; in New York City. Lancefield joined Manhattan's Rockefeller University as a technical assistant in 1918 because "it was the only place that answered my job letters," and continued to work there until last November.

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Economy & Business

Big Profits in Big Bribery

In many foreign deals, under-the-table payoffs are aboveboard

When the forces of virtue rise one foot, the forces of vice rise ten feet
—Chinese proverb

At a table in Mexico City's Camino Real Hotel, a foreign businessman and a middle-ranking government official are talking quietly in a corner. Midway through the conversation, the foreigner casually places an envelope on a chair next to him. When the foreigner rises to leave, the envelope remains behind. The government official slips it into his coat pocket a few minutes later and departs.

That is the way all too much of the world's most important business is done these days. From the shrewdly sophisticated kickback schemes of the Middle East and Latin America, to the virtual Mafia-style and shakedowns of sub-Saharan Africa and Indonesia, the universal game of bribery in the pursuit of profit goes on and on.

Is this a game that U.S. businessmen should be allowed, and even encouraged, to play? Or should they instead be compelled to wash their hands of it entirely, leaving the spoils to competitors in other lands? Those are some of the difficult questions that were addressed last week when the General Accounting Office released a detailed study of the impact on American business of the 1977 Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.

The act sprang from the nation's Watergate-era revulsion at the global bribery excesses of such well-known American companies as Lockheed, Northrop and Gulf Oil. During the mid-1970s those companies, and others, made headlines almost weekly as sensational disclosures surfaced about their roles in paying megabuck bribes to high foreign officials to clinch deals.

In an effort to stop such corruption, revelations of which rocked the government of Takeo Miki in Japan and disgraced Prince Bernhard in The Netherlands, the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act made it a criminal offense to pay bribes of any sort to foreign officials to secure or retain business abroad. Punishment could be a prison sentence of up to five years and fines of as much as $10,000 for individuals and $1 million for corporations. The legislation also set up accounting procedures designed to make it virtually impossible for companies to disguise such "sensitive payments" or to hide them elsewhere in the corporate books.

There is little doubt that the passage of the 1977 act has made U.S. businessmen think twice about bribing abroad. At Lockheed Corp., whose very name was synonymous with payoffs and freebies for foreign officials in the 1970s, the company now no longer picks up even hotel bills for customers visiting its California headquarters for contract talks.

By contrast, "caution" to some U.S. companies simply means figuring out clever new bribery schemes that are harder to spot. One way is to join up with a foreign company that is not prohibited from making the necessary payments, and let it do the dirty work instead.

The major problem of any law on bribery is that in much of the less-developed world what some Westerners might regard as commercial corruption of

Illustrations for TIME by Gary Viskupic

government and business has always been looked upon as an inescapable fact of everyday life. The stylized arrangements for giving and taking payments are often perfectly normal and legal under local law and custom.

Nevertheless, foreign officials usually design schemes to hide the transactions as much as possible, since few, if any, are willing publicly to admit taking the payoff. Likewise, foreign businessmen are equally queasy about being discovered offering the gift in the first place.

One reason for the generalized embarrassment is the sheer magnitude of the funds involved. In recent years, the worldwide explosion of oil prices has sent hundreds of billions of dollars cascading into some of the poorest nations on earth. These countries have set out on instant-industrialization programs and often spend money as quickly as it is earned.

The typical major case of bribery involves a large project in an industry that is highly competitive, but with little significant difference among the products. The size of the project allows both parties to hide the payoff in the price without undue notice. The number of competitors means that the seller and the buyer can more easily bargain for deals. These conditions, for example, are found in contracts for the sale of telecommunications equipment or aircraft and for most construction programs. Says Jules Kroll, a New York–based consultant on white-collar crime: "If there's only one or two companies bidding on a deal, it might go down very straight. But if you've eight guys who can do it, then people are going to get creative."

The Persian Gulf has now become a romper room of business corruption. In Saudi Arabia, a key government minister is widely reported to have collected upwards of $500 million in "commission fees" in connection with foreign business ventures in the past year alone. To do business in Saudi Arabia, it is essential to be connected, via an agent or middleman, to a member of the royal family, which controls not just the government but business as well. Says a veteran U.S. businessman bluntly: "Everyone needs a prince." Finding one is not hard: there are 5,000 princes in the royal family in this underpopulated nation of 6 million.

Bribery in that part of the world, though, can still be a complicated affair. According to a Justice Department complaint, in 1976 two U.S. businessmen, Roy Carver and R. Eugene Holley, co-owners of a tax haven oil company in the Caribbean, allegedly paid the Oil Minister of Qatar a bribe of $1.5 million for exploration rights in that country. But when the lease expired, a new minister had taken over and he refused to renew it. The indignant oilmen thereupon protested to the local American ambassador, who informed the Justice Department. The department in turn obtained a federal court injunction in 1979 preventing the men from violating the Corrupt Practices Act, which was by then U.S. law.

Mindful of the spreading Islamic disgust at the sort of corruption that helped topple the Shah of Iran two years ago, the Saudi regime has recently begun a well-publicized clean-up drive. The campaign, though, is largely cosmetic; payoffs continue unchecked. One method is fifty-fifty partnership arrangements between foreign companies and Saudi locals. Complains a Dutch industrialist: "It's all very well arranged, with profit-sharing arrangements set up for this purpose. But it is still bribery."

In the developing nations of Africa, foreign visitors have been bestowing gifts on local potentates since time began. Nothing much has changed except the value of the trinkets, which these days are more likely to be yachts and sports cars than beads and mirrors. In many sub-Saharan nations, a favorite scheme is to create a lucrative job in a project for an official's relatives or friends. For years the British-based Lonrho Ltd. trading house kept its Kenyan operations running smoothly with President Jomo Kenyatta's son-in-law as its head. When Kenyatta died in 1978, that connection no longer counted for much. Complains a foreign businessman in Nairobi: "Now there is a whole new set of people to deal with—and they all are asking for far more money."

In Latin America corruption is pandemic from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego. Bribing in Mexico is handled with the stylized flair of a Latin seduction, beginning with dinner at an expensive restaurant like La Hacienda de los Morales, and climaxing with a weekend jet-jaunt to Punta Cancun or Acapulco. The target of such lavish hospitality is most often the head of purchasing in one of the Mexican government's state ministries, who oversees procurement and importing.

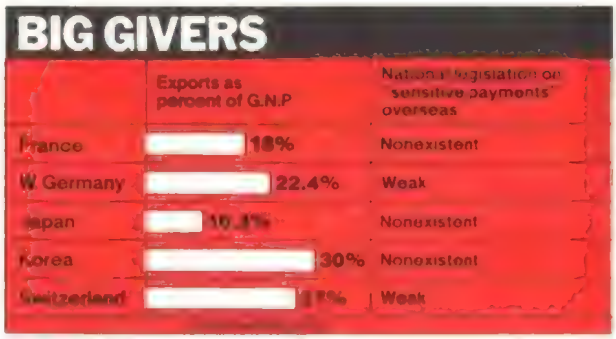
In Brazil bribery is often not just figuratively but literally a matter of seduction. Says a top West German businessman there: "Lavish entertainments with women—that is very effective." In the booming industrial megalopolis of São Paulo, a favorite spot to nurse along a deal is La Licorne, a discreetly mirrored nightclub with a striptease show, where call girls cost $120 a night, and foreign businessmen pick up the tab.

By contrast, love objects in Argentina run more toward postimpressionist paintings from pricey Buenos Aires galleries like Wildenstein, or jewelry selected by government officials for their wives from a famed jewelry shop like Ricciardi, a favorite haunt of the late Evita Perón. Those bills too, of course, are paid by the deal-hungry businessmen.

For really big South American deals, one Italian-based construction company is building an entire luxury real estate development on Uruguay's Punta del Este coastline. Yet none of the development is so far for sale to the public; instead, plots are being doled out like candy drops to favored Latin-American officials.

Leading European electric companies reportedly paid as much as $140 million in payoffs and kickbacks to win a share of the business in the construction of the $10 billion Itaipu Dam that is being built jointly by Brazil and Paraguay. Reports a U.S. business executive who watched the bidding unfold: "The European managers had unlimited authority. They paid cash into half a dozen Swiss bank accounts, and the money trickled down."

While the goal of bribery is the same in Asia, the style is often very different. In Malaysia, aspiring foreign businessmen reward government officials by making use of the Malaysian mania for gambling. A common approach is to invite a minister or government official for an afternoon of golf, bet heavily and then spend the next three hours swatting the ball into sand traps. An only slightly more straightforward method is to get into an after-dinner poker game with a key civil servant and lose heavily.



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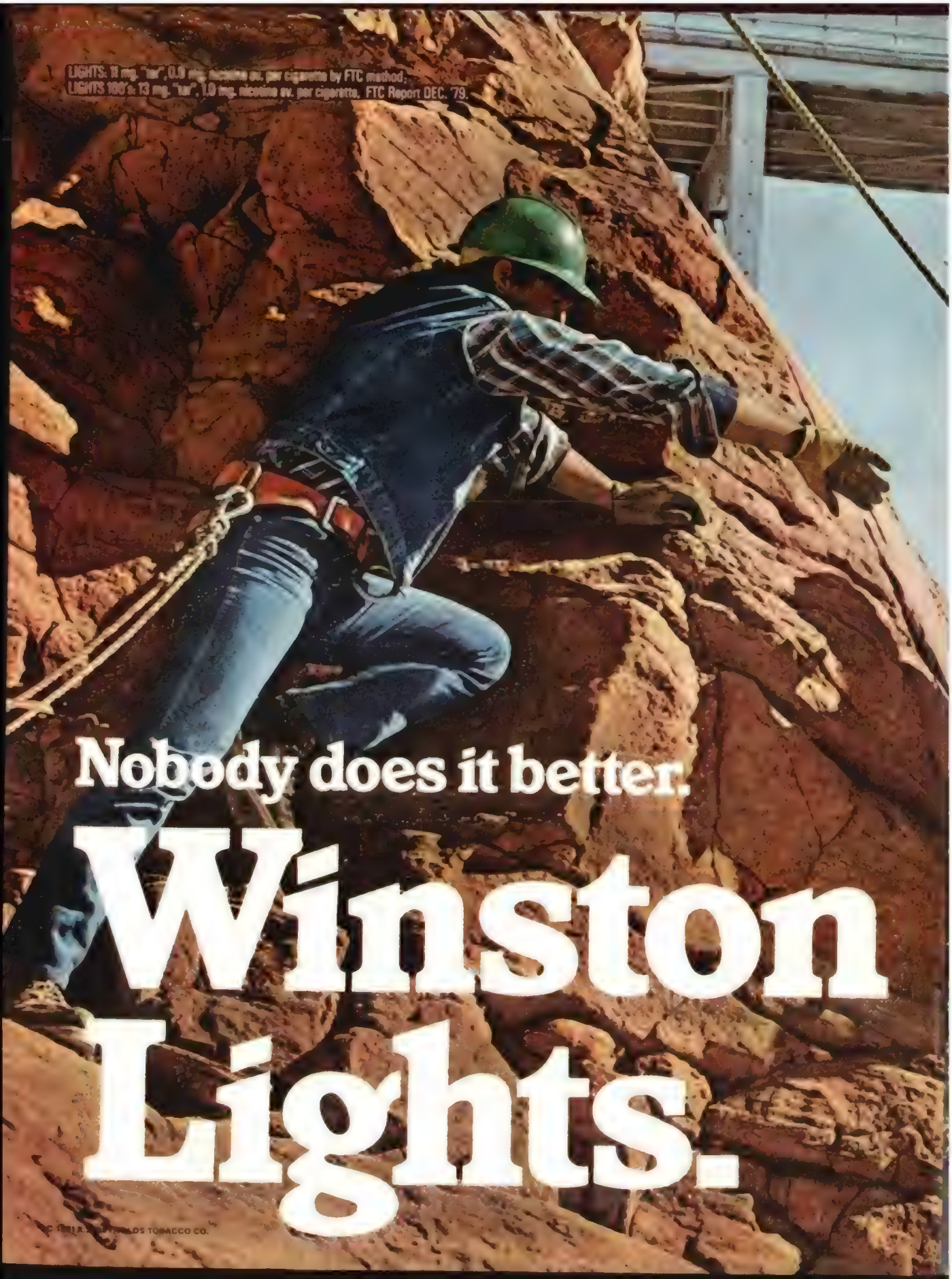
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Renault 18i

More than just economy

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In Indonesia, corruption is so family-oriented that in the early 1970s, President Suharto's wife Tien was known as "Mrs. Ten Percent." These days scandal surrounds one Haji Achmad Thahir, a drab Indonesian government employee who never made more than $9,000 per year in salary in his life. But relatives fighting over his estate discovered him to have a bank account of nearly $35 million. The Indonesian state oil company, Pertamina, has charged in court that two German companies, Siemens and Klockner Industrie, paid Thahir the money in connection with the construction of a $500 million steel mill near Djakarta.

While the U.S. took a firm moral stand against corruption with the 1977 legislation, the governments in most leading West European countries either openly condone bribery or look the other way. A confidential West German memorandum by the Federal Office for Foreign Trade Information advises companies to be prepared in difficult deals to fork over as much as 20% of the contract price to corrupt foreign officials. All such expenditures, which can run into the millions of dollars on large engineering and construction projects, are completely tax deductible as a necessary cost of business. Italy passed a law in 1980 stating that payments to foreign officials to get business are perfectly legal for Italian companies. France has no law at all on foreign bribery. Explains the head of a medium-size French company doing extensive business in the Middle East: "The French authorities know quite well that you cannot deal in those countries without payoffs."

The attitude is similar for leading Asian exporting countries. In Japan, paying off foreign officials to secure business is regarded as normal. Likewise, in Korea, the government takes the attitude that businessmen should not be hamstrung in their efforts to develop export markets and get overseas contracts.

Corruption exists, and probably always will, in this obviously imperfect world. But should the U.S. participate in it? Bribery on the global scale that is now occurring is costly, saps political vitality and can eventually undermine a people's trust in government. The regimes of the Shah in Iran or General Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua are testimonies to the problem.

Last week's GAO study, however, makes plain that the current American law is riddled with complicating ambiguities and shortcomings. Many of the problems arise from confusion over what constitutes a bribe. So-called grease payments, such as fees to get low-level civil servants to perform their bureaucratic duties of stamping documents and processing licenses, are specifically permitted on the grounds that petty corruption is unavoidable almost anywhere. But there is a large gray area between that sort of bureaucratic paper shuffling and the discretionary authority of local officials to withhold approval for a project or license, and thereby extort not $50 or $100, but perhaps $10,000 or even $500,000 from a victimized company.

American businessmen also complain that the complex law keeps them out of many profitable deals. Says Robert Malott, chairman of Chicago's FMC Corp., a leading manufacturer of chemicals and machinery (1980 sales: $3.5 billion): "The law has American export companies thoroughly confused. We simply cannot get clarification on what is legal and what is not."

Dubbed by one Wall Street wag the "Accountants' Full Employment Act of 1977," the legislation has forced companies not only to beef up their internal auditing staffs but to check and double-check the propriety of even the most inconsequential payments. Example: in Xerox's Cairo office, local staffers had to get permission from a senior corporate officer in the U.S. before they could pay $8 a month in tips to Egyptian telex and telephone repairmen.

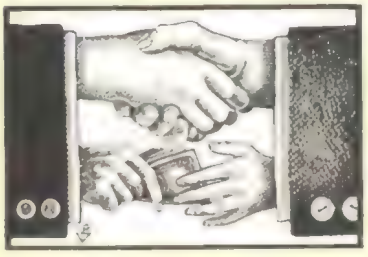
More confusion surrounds a company's liability under the act for the actions of its foreign agents. If the local representative uses even a part of his commission, as often happens, to bribe officials to keep a deal on track, the act asserts that the U.S. company is responsible if the executives had reason to know what the agent was doing. The GAO study recommends that Congress rewrite the law to give clearer guidance to businessmen as to what they can and cannot do to curry favor with foreign customers. It suggests that Congress repeal the criminal penalties connected with the accounting provisions of the law and that the Department of Justice and the Securities and Exchange Commission clear up the ambiguities in the act's antibribery provisions.

Senate Republican John Chafee of Rhode Island is expected to reintroduce a bill this week that would make some such changes in the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. Chafee lauds the law as an "important step toward the objective of prohibiting bribery of foreign government officials." But he also says that it is "difficult to decipher, hard to implement, and its ambiguities have bred confusion."

The Reagan Administration has already signaled its dissatisfaction with the act, and particularly its tendency through loose wording to cast a chill over the willingness of U.S. businessmen to push into foreign markets and thereby help boost U.S. exports.

Instead of taking the politically foolish position of calling for repeal of the act, and thus appearing to be in favor of worldwide bribery by American business, the Administration seems to be indicating, whether intentionally or otherwise, that it is prepared to let enforcement of the act languish. Indeed, the President's transition team on the workings of the Securities and Exchange Commission, which shares enforcement jurisdiction over the act with the Justice Department, has recommended decriminalization of bribery.

Such a stance by the Administration toward foreign bribery would itself cause problems. By failing to enforce the act as written, the Administration not only would leave the legislation's ambiguities unresolved, but would show a disrespect for the law, which is itself corrupting. Since the U.S. has adopted a moral position with regard to foreign bribery, neither the Administration nor Congress can now afford to let the subject wither away without compromising its principles in the process. *—By Christopher Byron. Reported by Jonathan Beaty and Gisela Bolte/Washington, with other bureaus*



Mum's the Word

A bribe is a bribe by any name—and the more euphemistic the name for it, the better. *Baksheesh*, currently in wide use in the Middle East, is a Persian word that is also found in Turkish and Arabic. It actually means a tip or gratuity given by a boss to his underling. The word was first used extensively to mean a bribe in connection with the money that a new sultan gave his troops. In most Spanish-speaking countries, *el soborno* means a payoff, but in Mexico payola is aptly described as the bite (*la mordida*). The Germans call it *Schmiergeld* (grease money), though export traders usually simply say *N.A.* for *nützliche Abgabe* (useful contribution). In France, where there is *veritas* in the *vino*, a payoff is called a *pot-de-vin* or jug of wine. The Italians refer to a bribe as a *bustarella* (little envelope). Under-the-table payments in East Africa go by the sobriquet *chai*, Swahili for tea. In onetime British colonies, the words vary widely: a bribe in Nigeria is called dash, in India a backhander. The popular Japanese word for bribe is *wairo*, but corruption is poetically called *kuroi kiri*, or black mist.

No Search for "Quick Results"

Peking axes the budget—and some major foreign contracts

"China's economic work will be able to free itself from the age-old malady of seeking quick results. Instead it will base itself on actual economic conditions, putting the stress on practical results and step-by-step development." With these words, spoken before the standing committee of China's National People's Congress Feb. 28, Vice Premier Yao Yilin described a watershed decision by the country's economic planners. Specifically, Yao announced a drastic 13% cutback of the 1981 budget; capital construction, the hardest-hit sector, would be chopped almost in half. Peking, it appeared, was scrapping much of the philosophy behind the ambitious Four Modernizations* development campaign launched with great fanfare three years ago.

The retrenchment came as no surprise to foreign companies that in the past month alone have had Peking cancel or suspend five major projects worth $2.5 billion. Most seriously affected are Japanese and West German firms that rushed into the Chinese market in 1978 and 1979, at the outset of Peking's ambitious drive for industrial expansion. Japanese companies, including Toyo Engineering K.K. and Mitsui Petrochemicals Co. Ltd., have lost $640 million worth of contracts to build seven turn-key petrochemical plants in Nanjing, Shengli and Peking. Of its five contracts for similar plants, Lurgi Gesellschaften, a Frankfurt-based engineering combine, expects to lose at least three, worth $450 million.

Even more devastating was Peking's decision last month to halt work on the second phase of the giant Baoshan Iron and Steel Works near Shanghai. That grandiose $5 billion undertaking, seen as the cornerstone of industrial modernization in China, was contracted in 1978 to various consortiums, including one headed by West Germany's Schloemann-Siemag AG. The scuttled portion of the project includes plans for a $650 million cold-rolling mill, to have been built jointly by Schloemann-Siemag and three other West German firms, a $425 million contract with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, and a $140 million project for Nippon Steel.

The jilted trade partners are understandably piqued. Said one Japanese businessman with characteristic understatement: "If China fails to solve the problem, the Japanese people will be very disappointed." A senior Bonn economics ministry official was more blunt: "When we sign contracts, we honor them, even if it is a tremendous hardship for us. We expect our business partners to do likewise." Only the prompt payment of "sufficient compensation" could alleviate "doubts about Chinese reliability," said Heinrich Weiss, the board chairman of Schloemann-Siemag.

Any compensation will have to await the outcome of complicated negotiations. Japanese Trade Representative Saburo Okita visited Peking last month to discuss the cancellations, and a Chinese delegation is in Tokyo this week laying the groundwork for talks. Special Chinese envoys are also expected in Bonn later this month.

China's Vice Premier Yao Yilin

Building site at the unfinished Baoshan steel plant

The jilted trade partners were understandably piqued

In addition to damaging China's commercial credibility, the cancellations represent a staggering financial loss for Peking. According to one Japanese report, China had already imported and paid for 29% of the Japanese equipment, and much of the rest had been constructed and was awaiting shipment. A large quantity of machinery has also been built and sent to China from West Germany and elsewhere; experts doubt that much of it can be resold, or even warehoused, except at prohibitive costs.

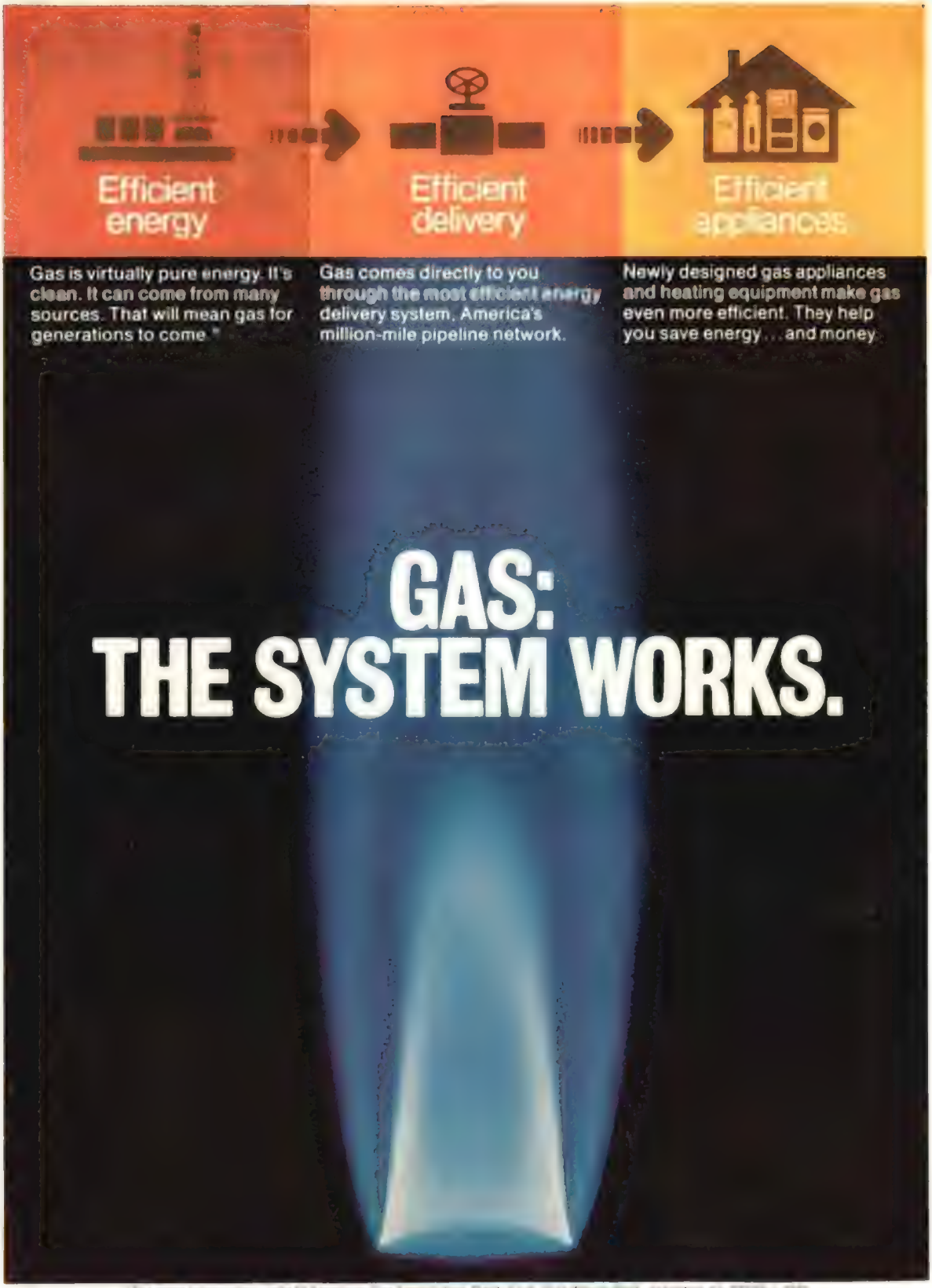
Trying to put the situation in the best possible light, Chinese officials argue that retrenchment now will create a sounder footing for future expansion. The sudden cutbacks, they explain, were necessary to curb the inflationary effects of large budget deficits and a growing foreign debt.

There is no doubt that planning blunders as well were responsible for some of the current problems. The site chosen for the Baoshan complex, for example, had such inadequate port, land transport, and power facilities that an additional $9 billion would have been required to create such essentials. The push to establish the petrochemical plants was based on a projected annual oil output of 730 million bbl. by 1985. Analysts now doubt that Chinese production will reach half that figure by then.

Western companies are not blameless either. In their eagerness to break into a market of 1 billion people, observes Louis Kawan, the European Community's top China expert, Western exporters ignored signals of impending cutbacks that were evident over a year ago. Even earlier, a few skeptics like West German Economics Minister Count Otto Lambsdorff had cautioned that China simply did not have the economic capacity to absorb such an enormous volume of business. The warnings went largely unheeded.

There are nonetheless a few bright spots in China's otherwise gloomy economic picture. The most positive sign is the healthy state of China's overall foreign trade, which rose by 20% in 1980 and is expected to grow by about 10% this year. Concludes Roger W. Sullivan, vice president of the National Council for U.S.-China Trade: "I certainly would not advise anybody to sit it out during China's current period of readjustment. If you do, your competitors will move ahead." —*By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Richard Bernstein/Peking*

*In early 1978, at least 120 projects were outlined to upgrade industry, agriculture, defense science and technology.



Gas: The future belongs to the efficient.

Good news travels better in a letter with the right ZIP.

Says June Lockhart

When you've got something to write home about, you want it to get there fast.

And the best way to help speed your mail along is to use the right ZIP Code on everything you send.

Also, be sure to write clearly and always use a return address.

Remember: The time it takes to find the right ZIP Code is much shorter than the time it takes your good news to travel without one.

©USPS 1980

Mary Baroody, '84, with associate professor of music Sister Carol Nolan, S.P.

Why did Mary Baroody come to Saint Mary-of-the-Woods?

She wants to use music to help children learn. Music and special education is the kind of combination you can find at Saint Mary-of-the-Woods where a sound liberal arts program is oriented to career fields. Relating academic interests to career preparation is a speciality of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, a Catholic women's college near Terre Haute, Indiana.

She liked the faculty. Instructors who know their fields. Who care that she learns--and who hold the traditional values that are important to Mary. It is a faculty that takes women seriously — instills in them the confidence that they can achieve their goal whether it is to compete in the business world, to dedicate their lives to family and community or to map a life plan that includes success in both.

It's a beautiful place. Richly detailed buildings line a landscaped mall set among towering trees. A special place to be a woman—and a student. In an area of Western Indiana enriched by four other colleges and universities that share with each other social events, courses or facilities.

There are real advantages to a small school. With a student body limited to 415, the faculty student ratio is an impressive 1 to 9. It is a place for forming lasting friendships. And a college where even freshmen can work on the award-winning student paper, play on the basketball team, star in a musicale and be treated as an individual.

She has not been disappointed. Mary discovered Saint Mary-of-the-Woods on a campus visit. You can, too. To learn more about Saint Mary-of-the-Woods yourself, write Dean of Admissions, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, IN 47876.

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, IN 47876
The college of successful women—since 1840.

This advertisement paid for by a friend of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods

It takes a generation to grow a pencil.

That's why the time to grow the next generation's wood and paper products is today, which is exactly what we're doing at Boise Cascade.

Today, we'll plant up to six seedlings for every tree we harvest, and we'll nurture and protect them until they come of age...so there'll be *more* tomorrow.

Today, we'll explore new growing and manufacturing methods that promise more trees per acre and more wood and paper per tree.

Today, we'll use our logging and manufacturing by-products to make useful things like chunk bark for gardens and particleboard for furniture.

And we'll burn much of what's left over for energy.

We aim to supply the next generation all the Boise Cascade wood and paper products they'll ever need...and the one after that... and the one after that...

Wood and paper products are our life's blood, and we plan to live a long time.

Boise Cascade Corporation
Wood and paper for today, trees for tomorrow.

Michigan Governor Milliken, Reagan and Ohio Governor Rhodes at the White House

Tough Tangle over Trade

Reagan ponders a restriction on Japanese car imports

Should the U.S. attempt to rescue its auto industry by restricting the import of Japanese-made cars? That was the knotty question that faced President Reagan last week. The Governors of eight auto-producing states, led by William Milliken of Michigan, met with the President in the White House to ask for negotiations toward a "voluntary" Japanese reduction of auto imports. Meanwhile, the Reagan Cabinet, at a meeting last week, split into sharply divided groups over the issue of import controls.

The issue is a thorny one for Reagan. Although philosophically a free trader, the President, during a campaign swing through Michigan last year, vowed to help the auto industry. Aides indicated at the time that he favored a voluntary agreement with the Japanese to reduce imports. After the election, Reagan asked Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis to review a study of the auto industry that had been completed by the Carter Administration. Results of the review will be submitted to the President within two weeks.

Last year the Japanese exported 1.9 million autos to the U.S., or nearly one-quarter of all cars sold in this country. But while Japanese sales are comparatively buoyant, Detroit's have been sinking badly. The American auto industry last year lost a staggering $4.2 billion. As a measure of their desperation, the Big Three U.S. automakers now offer buyers cash rebates of $500 to nearly $1,800 a car. That move has resulted in some short-term gains; sales during the last ten days of February leaped 21%. But industry observers are fearful that the rebates are artificially stimulating sales, which will come crashing down once the incentives are ended.

The Reagan Cabinet is now almost evenly split on the auto issue between protectionists and free traders. Trade Representative William Brock said last week that he still supported unrestricted trade, but added, "Sometimes you have to take a step or two backward before you can move forward." Murray Weidenbaum, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, had another view about that step. He told the Senate Banking Committee that any import limitations would be a "backward step at a time when economic policy is being geared to reducing the degree of Government intervention in the marketplace." Reagan Cabinet members now favoring relief for Detroit are: Brock, Lewis, Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldridge and Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan. The free traders lined up against them are: Weidenbaum, Budget Director David Stockman and Treasury Secretary Donald Regan. Secretary of State Alexander Haig at first did not take a position, but he eventually opposed restrictions on the grounds that they could disrupt international commerce and cause serious diplomatic repercussions.

The movement to limit Japanese imports is also gathering strength on Capitol Hill. The International Trade Subcommittee of the Senate Finance Committee will begin hearings this week on a bill sponsored by Lloyd Bentsen of Texas and John Danforth of Missouri to restrict the sale of Japanese cars.* The Bentsen-Danforth Bill would limit Japanese auto imports to 1.6 million cars annually for the next three years. While that proposal is not now expected to pass Congress, it will keep pressure on the Japanese to agree to a voluntary restriction.

President Reagan seems determined to let all sides air their views before declaring his own position. Said a White House staffer last week: "The oldest and wisest is keeping his own counsel." But with the pressure building rapidly, the President will soon have to make a decision. ■

*Despite their proposed legislation, both Senators own Mercedes

Ads Aloft

Courting an airborne audience

Just before the movie begins aboard long-haul flights on American, Braniff and Northwest, a ten-minute, highly professional film flashes on the screen. Titled *World on Parade*, it appears at first glance to be a 1940s-style newsreel. Passengers listening through their earphones hear a solemn-voiced narrator describe dramatic scenes of F-14 fighters landing on a Navy aircraft carrier. But then comes the soft sell: those are Grumman planes. Other *World on Parade* segments have included a mini-tour of a Chrysler factory where robots help assemble K-cars and a message for Krugerrands showing how gold was used in the Apollo spacecraft that flew astronauts to the moon. Also featured are nature sequences starring chimpanzees, reindeer, geese and kangaroos.

This new form of advertising for the airline audience was created by Trans Global Films of New York City. Corporate sponsors pay $35,000 for the production of a one-minute commercial shown on flights over a one-month period. In addition to U.S. carriers, several foreign airlines, including British Airways, Lufthansa and Iberia, will soon screen the ads. Trans Global characterizes its flying commercials as "sponsored entertainment" with news and educational value. *World on Parade* is institutional advertising, designed not to sell a specific product (Who after all needs an F-14? but to enhance a corporate image.

Eastern Air Lines, working with a Miami-based company called In-Flight Communications, has begun an advertising program that makes no such claim. Eastern on many flights has shown one-minute ads for Lanier dictating equipment and the familiar Hertz television film clip of O.J. Simpson flying like Superman through the air toward his rent-a-car.

Sponsored newsreels

After suffering its worst year on record in 1980, the airline industry may look to the ads as a new source of income. The commercials have already boosted the revenues of Eastern, for example, by $20,000 a month. So far, passenger reaction has been generally positive, although Film Critic Judith Crist was annoyed enough to send American Airlines an indignant protest letter. Said she: "I was shocked to be subjected to a commercial disguised as a news feature." But American contends that of some 1.5 million travelers who have seen *World on Parade*, only twelve have objected to the high-altitude pitches. ■

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The Sony Walkman

Look around. It's happening everywhere.

More and more people every day are listening to music in a revolutionary way.

The Walkman is a completely portable stereo tape machine that plays music with such power and fidelity, you won't believe you're listening to a cassette player that's just a little bigger than the cassette itself. Because the sound is much closer to that of a huge home stereo system.

You listen through tiny featherweight headphones. And there's even a jack for a second set of headphones, in case you're in the mood to share your music with someone else.

So come into your local Sony dealer and find out what the revolution is all about. After all, the Walkman is from the people who have been revolutionizing an industry for years.

SONY®
THE ONE AND ONLY

Totally Allergic

A tormented Briton seeks help

Sheila Rossall was on top of the world She was attractive, she was a singer with the British pop group Pickettywitch, she even had a hit record to her credit But three years ago, Rossall began exhibiting extreme sensitivity to virtually all man-made materials. Perfume, synthetic fibers, plastics and processed foods caused her to swell up and vomit. Forced to withdraw to a darkened, air-filtered room in Bristol, Rossall dropped down to 88 lbs. and became too weak even to lift her head. She seemed fatally allergic to the 20th century.

In a last ditch effort to save her life, friends sent Rossall, 31, to Dallas last month to be treated at the Brookhaven Medical Center's Environmental Control Unit. The unit is one of a handful of clinics in the U.S. devoted to a new and controversial branch of medicine, clinical ecology. Specialists in the field, founded by Chicago Allergist Theron Randolph, 74, theorize that some people are especially sensitive to man-made chemicals in the environment, and suffer allergic-type reactions. Says Randolph: "These individuals rapidly become susceptible to a wider range of materials. Sooner or later, in the worst cases, they are disabled by these reactions." What makes Rossall and others suddenly vulnerable is a mystery, although age may be a factor. Says Robert Stroud, the allergist supervising her treatment: "The body's machinery starts to get sticky as we grow older."

Though cases like Rossall's are rare, Randolph and his adherents assert that thousands suffer from less severe ecological "allergies." In many people, they say, these reactions are not immediately recognizable, masquerading instead as arthritis, alcoholism, headaches and depression. According to London's Sunday *Times*, Rossall in the past has been diagnosed as suffering from a pancreatic tumor, angina, coronary thrombosis, asthma, epilepsy and multiple sclerosis

To determine what substances are primary irritants, clinical ecologists isolate the patient in a carefully controlled environment. At Brookhaven, for example, Rossall lives in a ceramic-tiled room (she will later move to one covered with porcelain). Her mattress is pure cotton, as are her pillows, sheets and clothes, all of which are washed in unscented baby soap or baking soda. Visitors dress in cotton garments and must not wear makeup, perfume or deodorant. At each meal she eats only one dish—ranging from organically grown vegetables to wild game such as bear and lion—prepared in aluminum pans. She drinks water drawn from several natural springs. Later in her treatment, she will spend time in a stainless steel booth, being exposed to small amounts of gas fumes, formaldehyde, insecticide, perfume and smoke. Rossall records her reactions to every meal and chemical test in a diary

Rossall en route to Dallas clinic

Wearing pure cotton and eating lion meat.

After a stay of three months (costing about $37,000), Rossall hopes to know what substances she can tolerate and how to live more comfortably on the outside by minimizing her contact with those that she cannot. Says Stroud: "Patients learn that their home is their castle."

Traditional allergists wonder whether patients at Brookhaven and other special clinics are actually suffering from allergies, other physical ailments, or neuroses. Dr. Timothy Sullivan of Dallas' Parkland Hospital points out that allergic reactions are not documented by blood tests. Moreover, the diet and chemical testing relies solely on the patient's reporting, a subjective process open to self-fulfilling prophecies. Says Dr. Sheldon Spector of Denver's National Jewish Hospital: "If you're convinced your teeth are going to itch when you eat wheat, then they will itch." Despite the dispute, desperate sufferers are eager to try "ecological medicine." Says Randolph, who has been treating such patients for a quarter-century, the past five years at a 20-bed facility at American International Hospital in Zion, Ill.: "I keep the beds filled, and I can't keep up with the waiting list." ■

Recycling Blood

Being your own donor

Though donations by Americans have picked up in the past few years, the supply of blood barely keeps up with the demand. Use of donor blood rose 76% between 1971 and 1979 and may go higher if surgery increases as the population ages Concerned by the blood crunch, doctors are turning to once out-of-favor methods of conserving blood during surgery.* Two techniques now making a comeback

Intraoperative Autotransfusion. A patient's blood, shed in the course of an operation, is not discarded but instead recycled into his body. Autotransfusion has been tried occasionally since the 1800s, but the equipment used in the process damaged the blood. Furthermore, contaminated blood caused infection. Worse still, air was sometimes pumped into the patient, killing him

New methods have virtually eliminated these risks. Blood is cleansed to remove damaged red cells and other debris. The collected blood can be hung in a plastic bag above the patient's head and transfused by gravity. Autotransfusion is especially suitable where blood loss is great, as in trauma patients or those undergoing cardiac or orthopedic surgery. At Boston's Beth Israel Hospital, where autotransfusion is used in all heart operations, the need for donor blood in such surgery dropped 60% last year. Using the patient's own blood eliminates the possibility that his blood type will be mismatched and reduces his chances of contracting blood-borne diseases. Says Jerome Hauer, a blood specialist at Beth Israel: "The patient gets the best blood—his own."

Hypotensive Anesthesia. By depressing a patient's blood pressure to very low levels, anesthesiologists can lessen the amount of blood lost and give the surgeon an almost clear field in which to work. This is particularly useful in surgery on vessels that carry blood to the brain and in orthopedic operations like hip implants. The anesthesiologist anesthetizes the patient, then infuses a drug, usually nitroprusside, to dilate the blood vessels. This causes the pressure of blood against the vessel walls to drop from a normal reading of, say, 120/80 to as low as 65/50. The anesthesiologist must be careful that enough blood continues flowing to the brain, heart and kidneys

Though these techniques are once again popular, their full impact on blood conservation is yet to be assessed. But they are already of lifesaving importance to Jehovah's Witnesses, whose faith forbids transfusions of donor blood. ■

*Temporary blood substitutes are also being tested in the U.S

Capsules

SCIENTIFIC SUPPORT FOR DMSO

Enthusiasts claim that DMSO (dimethyl sulfoxide) is a remedy for everything from acne to mental retardation. Critics denounce the substance as a quack cure unsupported by scientific studies. Now though, researchers at the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions have documented that DMSO can exert a powerful effect on the immune system, suggesting that it might one day be helpful in treating rheumatoid arthritis and other immune-system diseases.

Neurologists Alan Pestronk and Daniel Drachman stumbled on the intriguing discovery while experimenting with the drug frentizole as a possible treatment for myasthenia gravis, a muscle-weakening disease in which antibodies damage the microscopic junctions where nerves and muscles meet. Because frentizole comes in powder form, the scientists first dissolved it in DMSO, a powerful solvent. Then they injected one group of laboratory rats with the frentizole solution and another group with plain DMSO to serve as a control. To their surprise, they found after a week that both groups of rats had significantly lower levels of the destructive antibodies. Further tests showed that the DMSO alone, not the frentizole, had countered the antibodies. Researcher Pestronk urges caution, however: "Our studies should in fact serve as a warning that DMSO should not be used cavalierly, because it does have such a significant impact on the immune system."

WHAT AILED VINCENT?

"I am either a madman or an epileptic," wrote Painter Vincent Van Gogh. Certainly the facts of his life seem to bear him out. In his last years he cut off part of his left ear, drank kerosene, ate paint, and was in and out of a French asylum. In 1890 he shot and killed himself.

Physicians, however, have never been completely satisfied with Van Gogh's self-diagnosis. Over the years they have come up with alternative explanations for his bizarre behavior, including mania, schizophrenia, even sunstroke. Because his late paintings were dominated by swirls of color, some observers believe he also suffered from glaucoma or cataracts.

Dr. Thomas Courtney Lee of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., offers yet another possibility. Writing in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, he suggests Van Gogh suffered from unintentional digitalis poisoning. Lee's evidence is tenable although admittedly circumstantial. Digitalis, a heart stimulant, was a treatment for epilepsy in the late 1800s. In two portraits of his physician, Van Gogh included the flowers of the foxglove plant, which is the source of digitalis. Most significant, halos and predominance of the color yellow—prevalent in his late paintings—are characteristic of the visual disturbances that accompany digitalis intoxication. ■

That's the reaction that's made Puerto Rican Gold Rum one of the most popular and fastest growing liquors in America today.

Any way you try it, Gold Rum is a smooth alternative to bourbons, blends, Canadians—even Scotch.

Enjoy it on the rocks, or with a dash of soda or your favorite mixer. The first sip will amaze you. The second will convert you.

Make sure the rum is Puerto Rican. The people of Puerto Rico have been making rum for almost five centuries. Their specialized skills and dedication result in a rum of exceptional taste and purity.

No wonder over 35% of the rum sold in this country comes from Puerto Rico.

PUERTO RICAN RUMS

Aged for smoothness and taste.

For free "Rums of Puerto Rico" recipes, write: Puerto Rican Rums, Dept. T 3, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, N.Y., N.Y. 10102 © 1980 Government of Puerto Rico

The new Audi 4000 5+5

From an ancient town in Bavaria comes this highly advanced five-cylinder sports sedan.

Audi

We in Ingolstadt have inherited a tradition of German craftsmanship and precision, which we have applied to the production of some of the world's finest automobiles.

Among them, the 5+5.

As scientists and engineers, it is contrary to our pride and dignity to believe in lucky numbers.

But then there is the number 5. As in 5+5.

We must affirm that there is nothing fortuitous about the design of this exceptional sports sedan, although we feel we've hit the jackpot. We brought together a winning combination: our 5-cylinder engine and our 5-speed manual transmission.

And we gave it the clean styling of the 4000.

(Those clean lines were developed in a giant wind tunnel—one of the few in the world that will take a full-sized car.)

About that engine: It is truly revolutionary. Most of the world's engines have an even number of cylinders. We chose the unheard-of odd number of *five*, because it gave us more power than a four with less vibration. It has fewer parts than a six, which helps cut weight. It's quick-acting, quiet, smooth-running.

We took that engine and put it in the 4000, tilting the block 20 degrees to lower the hood. This lets the driver see the road better, and there is less wind resistance.

Our 5-speed transmission proved a perfect match to the engine.

Out on the highway, the 5+5 cruises along easily and effortlessly at the speed limit. In fifth, it takes only a little gas to overcome whatever air drag hasn't been taken care of by the car's sleek body.

The result is an EPA rating of 21 estimated miles per gallon and 36 estimated highway.*

Of course there is much more to the mechanics of the car.

Fuel injection and front-wheel drive do their part. For gas saving. For the pleasure of driving. You can travel narrow, twisting mountain roads with confidence and enjoyment. Equally, enjoy rock-steady travel through flat country.

The interior of the Audi lives up to the rest.

Everything is simply and sensibly arranged. You sit on anatomically designed seats covered with handsome crushed velour which is comfortable on the hottest and coldest days. Behind the wheel, you know that what surrounds you is the result of deep and advanced thinking.

The thought, skill and care applied to every detail of a car, as well as to its overall design concept, is an integral part of Audi's heritage of pride in workmanship handed down from olden times through all the following generations.

The 5+5 is the beneficiary of this heritage.

If you want a powerful, beautiful and roadworthy car, this luxury sports sedan is available at $11,105.†

And if you believe in lucky numbers, 5 could be yours.

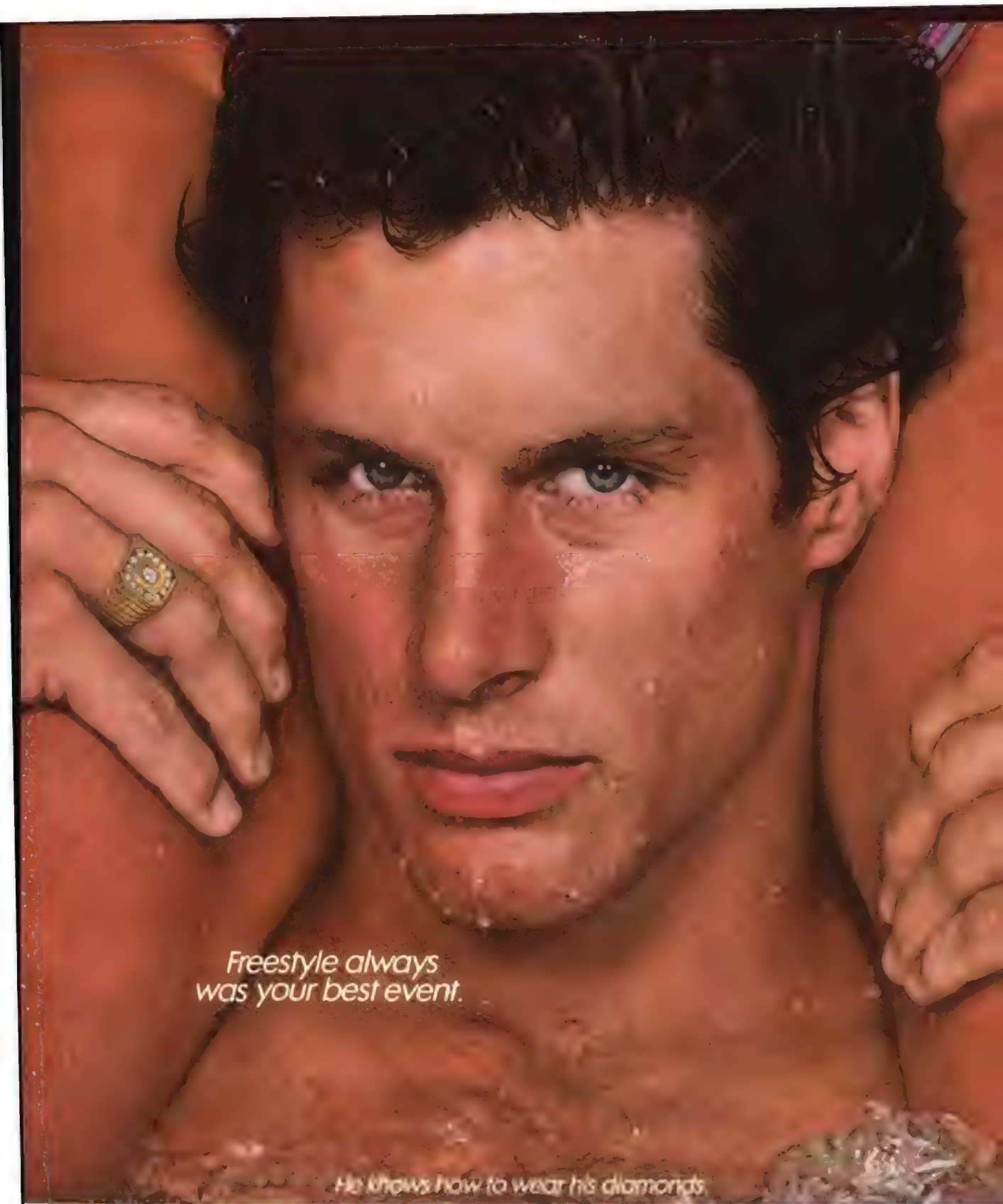
For your nearest Porsche-Audi dealer, call toll-free: 800-447-4700. In Illinois: 800-322-4400.

*Use the "estimated mpg" for comparison. Mpg varies with speed, trip length, weather. Actual highway mpg will probably be less.

†Suggested retail price, POE. Transportation, local taxes and dealer delivery charges additional.

PORSCHE + AUDI
NOTHING EVEN COMES CLOSE

Audi



Your jeweler can show you other exciting trends in men's diamonds starting at about $400. The ring shown is available for about $4,500. Prices may change substantially due to differences in diamond quality and market conditions.

A diamond is forever. De Beers

The Latest Perils of PBS

Will a plan for pay TV shows save public broadcasting?

Since it was established twelve years ago, public television has lurched from one crisis to another. Each time it has not only survived but also emerged stronger than before, with better programming and more viewers. Now, however, public TV is confronted with a double threat: drastic budget cutbacks by the Reagan Administration and competition from rapidly proliferating private cable systems that are scouring the market for cultural programs. Last week the board of the Public Broadcasting Service voted to counter both with a bold and perhaps desperate plan: a profit-making pay TV system of its own.

The Public Subscriber Network, as it would be known, would charge customers an average $10 to $13 a month, beginning in 1983. It would offer up to three hours each night of high-class entertainment, such as plays and operas, which would be broadcast free over the PBS system, probably many months later. Subscribers would be served, and so would the arts groups, which would receive a share of the profits. But the key point of the plan is that a bigger share would go to PBS and its stations, which would then have an assured income safe from the whims of fickle politicians. If all goes well and 1,225,000 households subscribe, the public system could be grossing more than $158 million by 1990.

Many of the 283 stations in the PBS system look upon the plan as a salvation. Inflation has raised production costs, government at all levels is stingier than it was, and corporate underwriters like the big oil companies say they are giving as much as they can. "Pay public television is unquestionably going to happen," says Tony Tiano, general manager of San Francisco's KQED. "And it's going to happen sooner rather than later." Says Ward Chamberlin, president of Washington's WETA: "The Reagan cuts are a sign that we had damned well better get ready to be self-reliant."

Many other stations, however, are just as firmly convinced that PBS President Lawrence Grossman, who sponsored the plan, has made serious mistakes in both math and logic. "The projected revenues are not realistic," complains Lloyd Kaiser, president of Pittsburgh's WQED. "They will add up to a very small amount of money for each station." John J. Iselin of New York's Channel 13 says that PBS might well have to borrow $100 million from banks and insurance companies just to set up the new venture. Even a supporter of the proposal like WETA's Chamberlin is concerned that PBS might be competing against itself and that people who pay for the subscriber network may no longer be interested in PBS's free programming. Individual supporters now contribute $71.6 million to public TV. Many of them might stop giving if they signed up as subscribers. "It's an enormous undertaking," says Grossman, acknowledging the criticism, "and I knew that there would be questions."

Still, the Reagan Administration's proposed 25% cut in federal money for public TV and radio—$43 million out of $172 million—makes some such money-making scheme almost mandatory. Even before the election, PBS and local stations had been looking for new funds. PBS now makes $1 million a year by renting out time on its transmitting satellite; five local stations hope to make money soon on their new program magazine, the *Dial*, which has won all challenges to its nonprofit status. Chicago's WTTW is already making more than $300,000 a year on one of its subsidiaries, *Chicago* magazine. In addition, stations are leasing studio space to private producers, selling video cassettes of popular shows and pushing sales to foreign markets. They are even examining the possibilities, both legal and ethical, of allowing sponsors to cluster ads between programs—thus taking the "non" out of noncommercial TV. In short, they will do almost anything the law allows to make a buck and stay in business.

Already, there have been cutbacks and layoffs at some stations. Boston's WGBH, which produces some of PBS's best programs, such as *Nova* and *World*, last year laid off 108 people, almost a quarter of its staff. At KQED in San Francisco, news was dropped altogether when 35 people, 16% of the staff, were let go.

Some systems, which are primarily educational and receive most of their money from state legislatures (North and South Carolina are good examples), will survive federal cuts. So will big-city stations that have large and loyal followings. "We base our success on our viewers," says William McCarter, president of WTTW. But small stations that are much more dependent on money from Washington will be severely hurt by the Reagan slices. "A 25% cut won't put us out of business, but it will seriously cripple us," says St. Clair Adams, general manager of little KEET in Eureka, Calif.

Ironically, a $150 million gift to public TV and radio from Publisher Walter Annenberg (*TV Guide, Seventeen*), announced less than two weeks ago, will do little to bail out PBS. Annenberg's money, spread over 15 years, will finance the production of a PBS program of college-level courses, but it will not subsidize regular programming. Some Congressmen assume that Annenberg's gift will do precisely that, however, and are now asking public TV executives, "What do you need our money for?"

Obviously, there is a great deal of confusion in both Congress and the Administration about what public TV is and should be. It is far from perfect, certainly, but it does accomplish what it was intended to do: provide an alternative to the general dreariness of the commercial networks. If the Reagan budget cuts go through and new money is not found, the system will begin to shrink, and eventually could disappear. Warns WGBH's general manager Henry Becton: "In two years public television could be a pale shadow of what it was—with nothing to replace it." —*By Gerald Clarke. Reported by Dorothy Ferenbaugh/New York and Susan Schindehette/Washington*

DRAWING BY P. B. MODELL © 1967 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.

"I would suggest that you have two means of ridding yourself of that guilt. One, stop watching Channel 13. Two, send them some money."

California creationist trial Plaintiff Kelly Segraves with children and attorney

Putting Darwin Back in the Dock

"Scientific" creationists challenge the theory of evolution

Housewife Marian Finger, 44, was startled to hear her son Eric, a seventh-grader at the Emma C. Smith Elementary School in Livermore, Calif., describe what he learned in school. "Mom," he said, "evolutionists don't believe in God." His mother, a practicing Presbyterian married to a chemist, began reading some of Eric's textbooks—and took some notes. "Just listen to this," she says angrily: " 'Evolutionary philosophy is the philosophy of ethical relativism, racism, military aggression.' " Says Mrs. Finger: "I just don't understand it. What's going on?"

Over opposition from 90% of the local senior high school science teachers, the seven-member Hillsborough County school board in Tampa, Fla., decided to require science classroom time for theories that challenge evolution. Says John Betz, associate professor of biology at the University of South Florida: "These people think evolution is essentially an immoral idea that gives rise to immoral conduct." Tampa's teachers "are incredulous," says Betz. "They can't believe it is happening."

Indeed, it is happening. More than a century after Charles Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859, more than half a century after the Scopes "monkey trial" in 1925 in Dayton, Tenn., the argument between evolution and divine creation has been revived.

Just last week, in Sacramento, Superior Court Judge Irving Perluss heard arguments in *Segraves* vs. *the State of California*, a case brought by Kelly Segraves, 38, director of the San Diego–based Creation-Science Research Center. Like most creationists, Segraves maintains that evolution as taught in U.S. schools is a secular religion. Because it is California policy to teach evolution in biology classes without competing views about the divine origin of the universe, Segraves claimed that the religious freedom of his children was violated.

Darwin (above); Lawyers Darrow and Bryan at the Scopes trial in 1925

Judge Perluss swiftly rejected that claim. But he gave some aid to Segraves' cause. He ordered statewide distribution of an earlier school board statement cautioning that textbooks avoid "dogmatism" in dealing with speculation about the origins of man. Segraves hailed the judge's ruling as a victory for creationism, claiming it "will stop the dogmatic teaching of evolution and protect the rights of the Christian child." The trial was notable publicity for creationists. Similar trials at state and perhaps federal levels are likely. As California Deputy Attorney General Robert Tyler puts it: "The battle is not really an intellectual one. What has me worried is the emotional fight ahead." Tyler is not the only one who is worried. For decades after the Scopes trial, evolution became a missing link in some state school curriculums and there are signs that teachers are shying away from it again. Says Iowa School Science Consultant George Magrane: "Teachers in Iowa are being intimidated by the controversy. Rather than teach both creationism and evolution, they teach neither one. It's almost a regression in history."

In its new "scientific" form, creationism is the brainchild of Christian fundamentalists all across the U.S. Over the past 15 months fundamentalist groups have persuaded legislators in 14 states to introduce laws requiring creationist views in science classes; none has passed. During a presidential campaign swing through Texas, Ronald Reagan was asked his view on the teaching of evolution. His answer (an almost verbatim quotation of positions taken by the Moral Majority and the Rev. Jerry Falwell): "It is a scientific theory only, and it is not believed in the scientific community to be as infallible as it once was believed. But if it is going to be taught in the schools, then I think the biblical story of creation should also be taught."

Reagan was wrong about the beliefs of most scientists, but his political instincts were more right. Particularly at the local level, the creationists represent strong popular feeling. In Dallas, school officials recommended that teachers use books that teach "two models" of the origin of life and the earth, Darwinian and creationist. In Anchorage, ninth-grade teachers have been ordered to skip the sections in history texts dealing with evolution, at least until the school board can provide additional material on divine creation.

To preserve sales, text-

"They've not passed any legislation, but they've got the textbooks changed."

book publishers are beating a none too stately retreat from evolution after giving it strong emphasis in the post-Sputnik editions of the 1960s, which aimed at more and better science teaching. To enter the lucrative Texas market, many biology textbook publishers now bow to a requirement by the state's school board and include a statement that evolution is clearly presented as theory rather than fact. More significant, according to Gerald Skoog, 45, professor of education at Texas Tech University, textbooks now say less about evolution. Between 1974 and 1977, the section on Darwin's life in *Biology*, a text published by Silver Burdett, was cut from 1,373 words to 45. Discussion of the origins of life went from 2,023 words to 322. Text devoted to Darwin's view of evolution shrank from 2,750 words to 296. Sections on fossil formation and geologic eras were deleted entirely.

Many other publishers have made cautious changes in wording. The 1973 edition of *Modern Biology*, published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, stated: "Scientists do not doubt that organisms living today descended from species of previous ages." That sentence was omitted in the 1977 revision. The 1969 text said, "Modern man has probably evolved from primitive, more generalized ancestors." The 1977 version: "Darwin was suggesting that humans may also have evolved from less specialized ancestors." A Holt, Rinehart editor says: "If you're not listed in a state, you can't sell books in a state. And as a publisher, if you take an ideological viewpoint, you may find yourself not listed."

Another New York–based biology textbook editor reports that book salesmen have urged him to delete pictures of some fossils entirely to appease creationists. "The truth is that the most magnificent pattern in biology is evolution," says he, "but we don't spell it out for the students. We talk about 'change' a lot, but we try not to say the word 'evolution' very much. So we have a chapter on birds, and one on amphibians. But we don't say how they are connected." Observes Frank Spica, a biology teacher in Evanston, Ill.: "If you ask me, I think the creationists have won. They've not passed any legislation, but they've got the textbooks changed."

Their success is due in part to a new tactic. After the Scopes trial, creationists sought equal time for the Bible. But in 1975, a Tennessee law requiring textbook discussion of *Genesis* was struck down by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals as an unconstitutional violation of the separation between church and state. Changing their approach, the creationists began promoting "scientific creationism," trying to challenge evolution on scientific grounds. Proponents say scientific creationism is suitable for public school use because it does not mention the Bible. "This isn't an effort to introduce religion into the school," says Georgia State Representative Tommy Smith, who for two years running has sponsored a creationist bill in the legislature. "but I do feel all available scientific data should be presented." The question, though, is, do creationists have scientific data? The basic tenets of scientific creationism closely parallel *Genesis:* the earth is roughly 10,000 years old (prevailing estimates are that its age is about 4.6 billion years); the planets, stars and all living things were literally created in six days by a "Designer"; the different species of plants and animals were created, they did not evolve from any other species; a great flood was the chief force that shaped the face of the earth, in the process drowning the creatures now found as fossils.

The creationist movement boasts a

STEVE HANSEN

Paleontologist Gould and fossil

number of adherents who have been trained in science. Significantly, few are biologists. Creationists have done almost no original research. In launching their attacks on evolution they tend to pick over data accumulated by science. Among their most frequent points.

▸ Because various dating methods used by geologists, astronomers and paleontologists occasionally produce results that disagree, the whole system of dating the past is unreliable. Radioactive dating, they note, is based on the present rate of radioactive decay, but how do we know that the rate has always been the same? The fact is, though, that carbon 14 dating, for example, has been verified against historical records going back to ancient Egypt and the known ages of 2,000-year-old trees. Other radioactive methods have been used to date earlier epochs, like the age of the earth, and in a variety of trials they have produced a consistent pattern. The creationist argument is a bit like claiming that because some trains are canceled or run way off schedule, the basic timetable is totally inaccurate.

▸ Creationists argue that the second law of thermodynamics proves the impossibility of evolution. The law, formulated by European physicists more than a century ago, says that the universe is running down, dispersing its energy; its natural movement is from order to disorder. Since evolution is a process that led to higher and more complex forms, it could not have occurred. In 1977 Ilya Prigogine, a Russian-born professor at the Free University of Brussels, won a Nobel Prize in Chemistry for proving that the second law does not apply to "open systems" such as living creatures, because living things can acquire new energy. Plants grow healthy by soaking up sunlight, even though the sun, the source of the solar system's energy, is slowly burning out.

▸ We know that stars die. But because we have never seen stars being born, creationists argue that science cannot know how they originate. Says David Schramm, an astrophysicist at the University of Chicago: "In fact, we can observe stars forming right now: in the Orion Nebula stars are visible by telescope, forming out of gas clouds. Of course, the process takes 10 million years. Obviously, none of us has watched it for 10 million years. What we do see is a series of different stars in various stages of formation. The creationists are picking up a grain of truth and totally distorting it."

▸ Again and again creationist debaters attack the "fossil record" of evolution, claiming that though there are fossils by the millions, none so far has been found showing transitions between distinct life forms—no creatures, for example, that are half reptile and half mammal. Scientists correctly point out that though there are real fossil gaps among the higher orders, there are tens of thousands of fossils that record the transition, sometimes over millions of years, among such life forms as hard-shelled clams, rhinoceroses and apes. As reptiles became mammals, the fossil record shows that bones in the jaw joint became smaller and evolved into part of the mammalian ear. Most scientists believe that the fossil gaps between major groups (such as fish, amphibians and reptiles) will grad-

BLACK STAR

Representative Tommy Smith and monkey mascot in Georgia house

A mythology causing "perversions, pills, pornotherapy, pollution."

Education

ually be filled in by new finds. But Paleontologists Stephen Jay Gould and Niles Eldredge think that in some cases transitions occurred so quickly and in such small populations of creatures that there is virtually no chance of finding fossil evidence to fill these gaps. Evolution may occur in sudden fits and starts, they say, not in the agonizingly slow and regular process Darwin postulated in *Origin of Species*. Gould, whose remarks about fossil gaps are cited by creationists, says flatly: "They are confusing the methods by which evolution occurs with evolution itself. That evolution occurred is a fact. People evolved from ape ancestors even though we can argue about how it happened. Scientists are debating mechanism, not fact."

Creationist arguments about evolution are scientifically flimsy, to say the least. But they are based on a sincere, though often appallingly distorted and overstated, conviction that evolutionary doctrine, as it has come to affect modern society, deprives man of a sense of individual and moral responsibility for his own acts. Says Georgia Judge Braswell Deen: "This monkey mythology of Darwin is the cause of permissiveness, promiscuity, pills, prophylactics, perversions, pregnancies, abortions, pornotherapy, pollution, poisoning and proliferation of crimes of all types." Behind the rhetoric lies a basic question that touches the ultimate reaches of science and the most ancient source of faith. Creationists tend to put it as follows: The existence of a clock implies a clockmaker; the existence of creation implies a creator. The infinite complexity and design of the universe, they claim, could not simply have evolved through blind trial and error.

Put in that way, however, the question is one of theology, not science. Though the growth of scientific knowledge has unquestionably undercut faith, creationists tend to ignore the fact that the awe-inspiring complexity of the universe, its grand design, has been made known to man mainly through the free inquiry of science. The true study of evolution, moreover, is a humbling experience that gives man only a tiny niche in the vast scheme of the universe. "Never lose a holy curiosity," Einstein once wrote. Says Astrophysicist Robert Jastrow: "Astronomers have proven that the creation of the universe is the result of forces beyond the reach of scientific inquiry, but the rest of the story, leading from the creation to man, is explained very well by the scientific evidence in the fossil record."

At least half a dozen top scientific organizations have issued statements warning that scientific creationism is not scientific. Should school boards and legislatures yield to the creationists' innocuous-sounding request for equal time? The answer seems to be no—not if they want pupils to learn biology, as the subject is understood today. The relation of science and morality is an important matter. Creationism may belong in social studies or the history of religion, but it should not be pushed into biology classes or textbooks, especially not by legislative fiat. As celebrated Geneticist Theodosius Dobzhansky put it: "Nothing in biology makes sense except in the light of evolution."

Some scientists and science educators are beginning to blame themselves for the present popularity of pseudo science —including astrology and medical quackery, as well as the "science" of creationism. Says Wayne Moyer, executive director of the National Association of Biology Teachers: "We have done a botched job of teaching evolutionary theory, and we had better accept the creationist challenge to clean up our act." Adds Chemist Russell Doolittle: "At first I couldn't understand the gullibility of people. It took me a while to understand that the average American is not equipped to combat this sort of thing. The tragedy of it all is the state of science education in the country—it's simply, sadly, awful." *—By Kenneth M. Pierce. Reported by D.L. Coutu/Los Angeles and J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago*

Theater

Duke's Place

SOPHISTICATED LADIES
Concept by Donald McKayle
Based on the music of Duke Ellington

Nuclear energy is being released at Broadway's Lunt-Fontanne Theater, but no one need fear anything more drastic than delight. *Sophisticated Ladies* has no book and seems not to need one. It relies on incendiary dancing, notably tap, an onstage Big Band blast under the baton of Duke Ellington's son Mercer, and some 36 of the Duke's tunes of seductive genius.

The link between Ellington and his genius is Gregory Hines, a supernova of a performer with formidable gifts. Whether he is dancing, singing or flaying and feathering the drums, Hines has a sly, unaffected good humor that winningly permeates the evening and the show.

His high-stepping, svelte-styled fellow performers are not far behind. With insinuative grace, Judith Jamison uncoils in the title number to lament the bittersweet tempo of the heart at dawn. Gregg Burge and Hinton Battle challenge the speed of light with their agility, and Phyllis Hyman and Terri Klausner pour molten sensuousness into numbers like *In a Sentimental Mood* and *Hit Me with a Hot Note and Watch Me Bounce*. If Harlem had a Renaissance court, Willa Kim's color-splashed costumes would adorn it.

MARTHA SWOPE

Jamison and Hines in *Sophisticated Ladies*
"Hit Me with a Hot Note . . ."

No amount of professional proficiency alone enables a musical to take wing and make a chairbound audience irresistibly airborne. The X factor, and *Sophisticated Ladies* has it, is mood. All of Ellington's music is mood music, and its components are inescapably urban, elegant, nocturnal and just a trifle snobbish. Ellington is as close as possible to being Noël Coward's twin.

What Coward did for the bright *Weary of It All* worldlings of London, Ellington did for the smart, sassy *Take the "A" Train* Harlem-Manhattan axis. This mood resonates throughout the show, particularly in Set Designer Tony Walton's scenic imagination. He inscribes the Cotton Club in neon across the night sky rather as Picasso painted with a flashlight in the dark. Through dark blue and white lighting, a flight of stairs becomes a piano keyboard to prance on.

A cruel amplification of sound —Broadway's sin against all musicals —robs some of the numbers of the sinewy, teasing subtlety that is an Ellington touchstone. Otherwise, the show is torrid, torchy and trig. *—T.E. Kalem*

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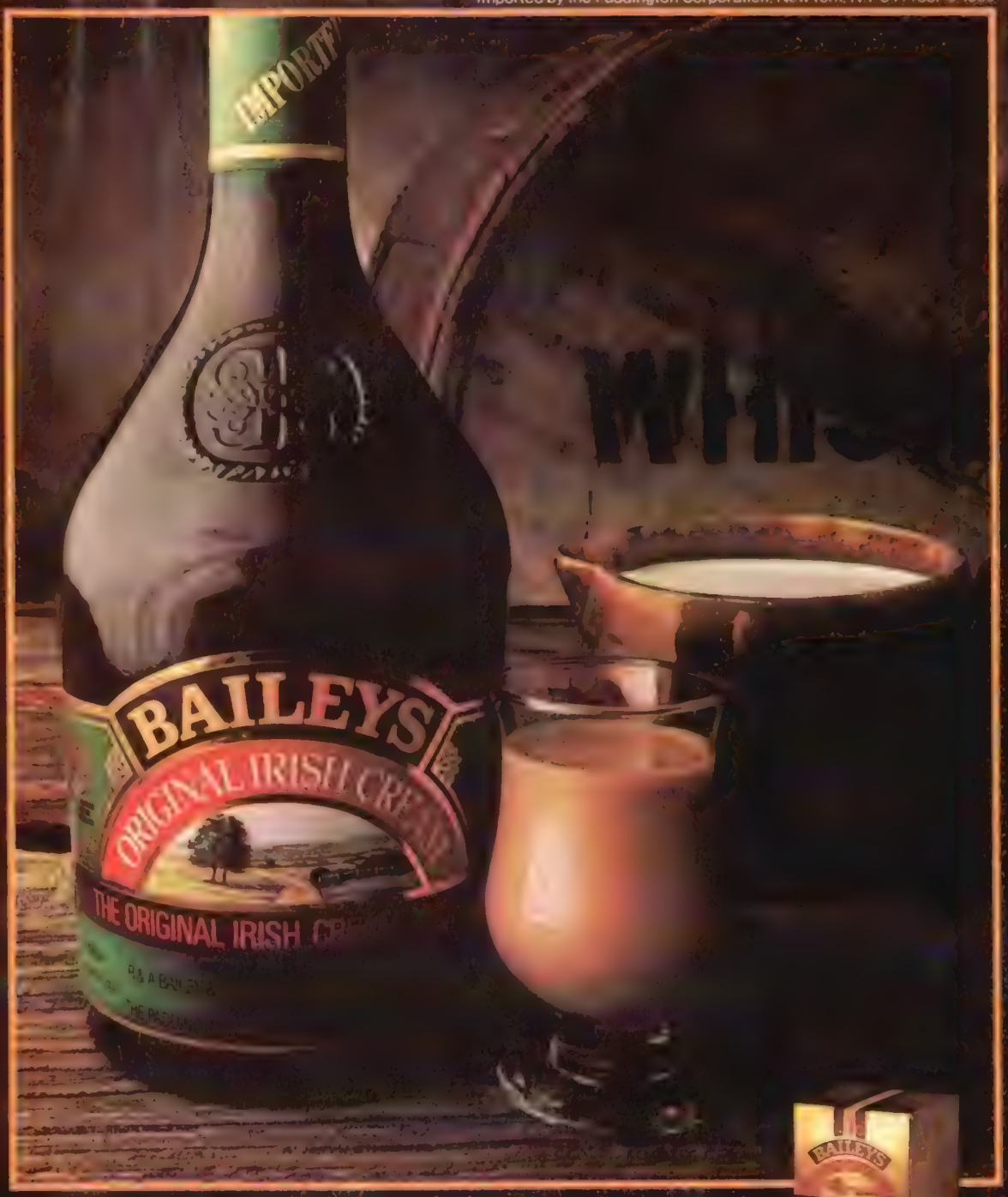

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Giving 'Em the Old One-Two

U.S. figure-skating rivals prevail at the World Championships

In the world of figure skating, few are more accomplished—or more mutually competitive—than Scott Hamilton and David Santee. But in that most icily competitive of sports, Santee and Hamilton have usually looked on while others received the medals. Santee, 23, finished fourth in last year's Winter Olympics; Hamilton, 22, placed fifth. And so it has been since the two began competing in the mid-'70s. But all three of last year's Olympic medal winners retired after Lake Placid, and suddenly the old rivalry between Hamilton and Santee took on new drama: they could be the world's best, but in what order?

Santee and Hamilton with their medals

Hamilton took the first major post-Olympic confrontation in February, when he won the American championship, and Santee finished second. Last week, at the World Figure-Skating Championships in the Hartford, Conn., Civic Center, Santee set out to even the score. But Hamilton came out on top once again, winning the World Championship by the thinnest of margins. Santee placed second, Igor Bobrin of the Soviet Union third. As the three finalists mounted the victory stand, Hamilton and Santee treated their international audience to a good old American high-five handclasp, then stood side by side, gold and silver medals around their necks, and sang *The Star-Spangled Banner*. It was the first double-medal performance by Americans in a single event since Carol Heiss and Barbara Ann Roles won gold and bronze in 1960.

That photo finish was not the only dramatic moment in a competition of many twists and triumphs. Handicappers looking to the 1984 Olympic Games could find much to ponder in the World Championships. Elaine Zayak, the 15-year-old American buzz saw who hurtles into triple jumps with wild abandon, served notice that she will soon be a major force in figure skating (*see box*), finishing second in the women's competition. A stylish Swiss, Denise Biellmann, 18, showed a few complicated moves of her own and took the gold. And once more, the Soviets proved that at least one factory is meeting its production quota quite successfully: Irina Vorobieva and Igor Lisovski won the gold medal for pairs, joining a line of Russian couples champions that stretches back five Olympiads.

Indeed, the only sure bet at the World Championships was the triumph of the Soviet duo. Within seconds after Vorobieva and Lisovski took the ice, their claim was clear to the legacy of Irina Rodnina and her two successive partners, Alexei Ulanov and Alexander Zaitsev, as well as that of Ljudmila and Oleg Protopopov. The liquid balletic expressiveness, the finesse and harmony that is the hallmark of Russian pairs skating has been handed down intact to the latest heirs. Vorobieva and Lisovski took a comfortable lead after the short program, two minutes of compulsory jumps and lifts. Even a near collision on their dual camel spins (twirling on one leg with the other leg stretched out, arm tight against it, so that the body forms a T) during the free skating could not diminish their domination. "I was satisfied with the results," Lisovski allowed later, "but not with my skating. We can skate better." That is hard to imagine.

The outcome of the women's competition was less predictable. Biellmann, fourth-place finisher at the 1980 Olympics, is the most seasoned skater of the current crop. She carried the day with a blend of experienced *sang-froid* and virtuoso spins. In a contortionist move of her own contriving, she grabbed her left leg behind her back with both hands and stretched it high overhead, while spinning at dazzling speed on her right leg. The Biellmann spin is breathtaking, but she lacks the athletic triple jumps that have become the sport's new measuring stick. With the new emphasis on athleticism, led by young crickets like Zayak, Biellmann may be the last women's champion in the grand style. Those elegantly expressive skaters, best personified by Peggy Fleming and Sandy Lenz, made figure skating a romantic art form. *Giselle* on a vast frozen stage. Biellmann is capable of sculpting her movements on the ice in that expansive manner. For all the excitement of her spins, it was in her program's slow movements that she was most striking, her skating style fluid, her blades sweeping with graceful, elongated strokes.

Zayak has more than her share of triple tricks but needs to learn how to cope with world-class pressure and to master the school figures, those slowly executed moves that are judged partly by examining the skate marks left after a competitor has finished. Zayak came in only seventh in that category, and was unable to make up enough ground in the four-minute free-skating event, which is her forte, to overtake her rivals.

Switzerland's Biellmann gliding to victory

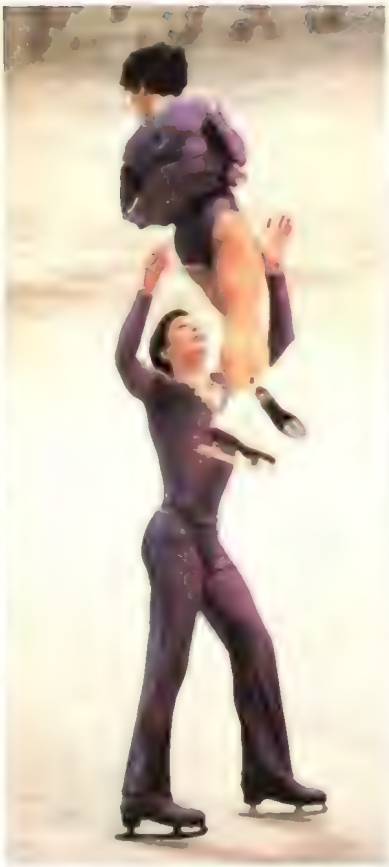
Hamilton, the Haverford, Pa., wonder who took up skating as therapy after suffering a near fatal digestive disorder as a child, was in third place going into the free-skating competition, the climax of his duel with Santee. But he trailed Santee by just .4 (out of a possible 6) and was clearly within striking range. (In second was France's Jean-Christopher Simond, who later skated poorly and finished fifth.)

Photographs for TIME by George Tiedemann

A few hours before they were to take the ice, Santee reflected on their mutual past: "We've known each other from the first competition I ever skated in. We always considered one another to be like brothers." Santee has been the prodigy, a flash who entered senior competitions at 14, only to have his spirit broken by repeated defeats by older skaters. Santee helped revive his confidence by imagining himself as Sylvester Stallone preparing for the big bout in *Rocky*. He even made the film's sound track his skating music. Now he prepared for one last fight. "I'm going to go out and at least show them that if [Hamilton's] going to beat me, he's going to feel it. I've worked my whole life to be in this position, and I'm not backing down."

The last person who would wish that fate on Santee was Hamilton. He recalled Santee's inspired charge at the National Championships and hoped for a repeat: "I want David to be at his best. It would be an empty title if everybody didn't skate his best."

In the end, they both committed errors. Hamilton, wheeling around the ice in a simple stroking move, pushed too hard, slipped and fell. Because it was a simple move, he was not penalized severely, though he did not know that at the time. He snapped his fingers in surprisingly good-natured dismay, like a man who had just dropped his keys, not his chances at a world championship. Hamilton later said that he had become so excited by the crowd response after he completed his most difficult triple jump that he told himself, " 'Okay, here we go.' I was really wanting to pour it on then and I just skated too hard."



Lisovski tosses Vorobieva on the way to gold

Santee likewise tried too hard. On his first jump he failed to land properly, brushing the ice with his free foot, a serious fault. Santee said later, "I wanted it to open with a bang, and the only mistake I made was being too aggressive on the jump."

Until last week, Hamilton had usually finished behind Santee, and the view from the top led to a reminiscence: "I remember my first competition in my home town of Bowling Green, Ohio. David did three single axels in a row, and I was following him around trying to see how he did it. He was in intermediate, and I was in subjuvenile class. They invented a class for me, and I still finished second."

Santee, who had just announced that he would now consider retirement, laughed at the memory. The smiles died when Hamilton added: "If David retired, I'd be devastated. It wouldn't be the Nationals, it wouldn't be the Worlds if David were gone. I'd be sad." So would the figure-skating world, which has profited from their courage and tenacity as much as Hamilton and Santee have thrived on their rivalry. *—By B.J. Phillips. Reported by Jamie Murphy/Hartford*

Triple Threat

That chirpy little voice can be misleading. When Elaine Zayak, all of 15 and the most explosive talent to hit women's figure skating in a generation, says something, she means it. Of her quest for recognition as the world's finest in her sport, she says quite bluntly: "I don't have time to wait."

Chances are the 5-ft. 2-in., 103-lb. teen-ager will not have to. She is already the most recognizable figure in skating. The reason is simple: Zayak can do triple jumps. Until a few years ago, when Olympic Silver Medalist Linda Fratianne first began to perform those furious leaps in competition, triples were attempted by only the strongest of male skaters. Fratianne did two triple jumps in her free-skating program. Elaine Zayak does seven—and does not consider that the limit. "You have to do doubles, too, not just a triple here and there. Of course, you could do two triples in a row. That would save time."

The daughter of a Paramus, N.J., bar owner, she started skating at age four; she was attending a nursery school called Tots on Ice. When she was six, her parents gave her older brother and sister a trampoline for Christmas. A jumping jack was born. "I just started bouncing up and down, doing triple turns, flips, everything," she says, adding almost apologetically: "I was skating, too, but I didn't have triples then."

She did not have long to wait. At eleven, she performed two triples in a novice competition and was on her way. At 14, Zayak finished fourth in the National Championships, and though she did not make the Olympic team, she was selected to compete in the World Championships a few weeks later. Last month the jumping jack vaulted past more seasoned U.S. skaters and took the National Senior Women's Championship.

At last week's World Championships, she was doing well, when, in the closing seconds of her two-minute short program, she fell while attempting a flying sit spin. She skated off the ice in a rage. Her coach, Peter Burrows, understood: "Elaine's routine was clean to the last move, and then she made a mistake. You'd get mad, too."

The next night in the free-skating program, Zayak decided that having got mad, she would now get even. From her first dazzling triple-loop, double-loop combination, she was a spinning dervish. She threw one near-perfect triple after another until she had reached her goal of seven and won her silver medal —and every heart in the house. Just wait.

Hideaways for Nuclear Waste

Salt domes are considered as crypts for radioactive debris

They are great underground mountains of salt, some of them six miles deep and three miles across. They were formed tens of millions of years ago—some even before the age of the dinosaurs—by the evaporation of ancient saline seas. Layer upon layer of sediment piled atop the dried-up ocean beds. Gradually, columns of the lighter salt were forced upward by the pressure, like putty squeezed through the fingers of a slowly clenching fist. In the U.S. alone, there are more than 500 such salt domes, all of them in or around the Gulf of Mexico.

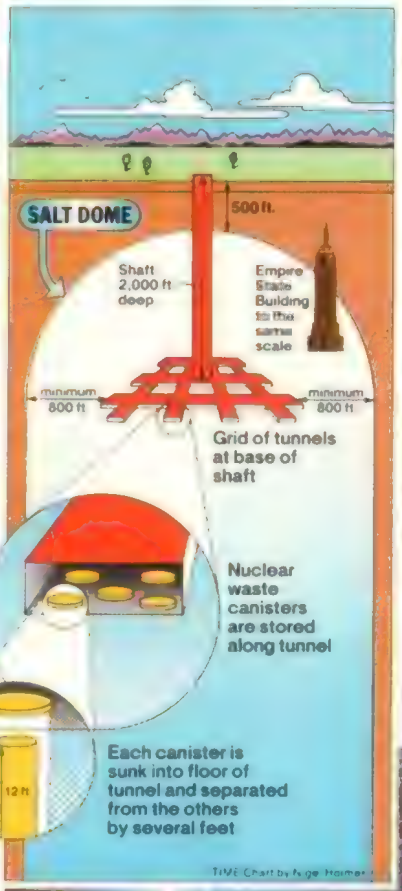
For centuries the domes have served as a source of cheap table salt. In Louisiana, salt miners have carved out huge underground caverns. The domes act as traps for oil and natural gas, which collect in neighboring rock in cracks and fissures created by the upthrust of the salt. In 1901, drilling around a dome near Beaumont, Texas, produced a gusher of unprecedented size. It was called Spindletop and gave birth to the modern petroleum industry. Since then, salt domes in the Gulf States have helped point the way to more than 6 billion bbl. of oil.

Today those riches have dwindled, but salt domes may again be pressed into service, this time as a solution to one of the country's hottest energy problems: getting rid of nuclear wastes, which can stay dangerously radioactive for 10,000 years. Some scientists suggest storing this debris deep inside salt domes.

The proposal is highly controversial, and residents of dome areas are already up in arms. In Louisiana, a group calling itself Citizens Against Radioactive Storage has been formed. During the last session of Congress, Louisiana Senator J. Bennett Johnston introduced a bill that would have blocked the use of salt domes by calling for storage in shallow beds, where, in case of leakage, the material would be more easily retrievable. Vows Louisiana Governor David Treen: "Unless it could be demonstrated that storing nuclear waste in salt domes is absolutely safe, I would oppose it."

Lately, popular fears have been stirred by a rash of mishaps involving salt domes. Last June methane gas exploded at a salt mine on Belle Isle, La., killing three miners and injuring 17 others. In November an oil-drilling rig accidentally punctured a salt-mine shaft under Jefferson Island, La., sending much of a 1.5-sq.-mi. lake gurgling down into the dome. The most frightening accidents have involved still another use of salt domes: as cheap, convenient storage tanks for crude-oil and natural-gas products. Last fall hundreds of people had to flee Mont Belvieu, Texas (pop. 2,700), which sits atop the largest such hydrocarbon reserve in the U.S., after gases began leaking from it.

These accidents have not altered scientific interest in the domes as nuclear-age crypts. Scientists point out that domes appear geologically stable. They do not have ground water circulating through them to carry off radioactive material. (If such water were present, the soluble salt would long ago have been washed away.) Even if the salt were cracked by heat from radioactive materials, the rupture would tend to close itself, a self-healing characteristic of salt not found in, say, granitic or volcanic rock masses, which are also being investigated as radioactive refuse sites. Says Physicist Neal Carter of the Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio, which is studying the problem of nuclear-waste disposal: "We've concluded that salt domes are fully capable of containing radioactivity."



Containment is certainly needed. Nuclear wastes have been piling up from years of military, medical and power-plant operations. At present, most of it is temporarily—and perhaps dangerously—stored in huge steel-and-concrete tanks. No decision has yet been made on any of the various types of geological storage dumps under study. Carter explains that unlike the oil or gases kept in the ground under pressure at places like Mont Belvieu, solid nuclear wastes could not trickle through the salt. In fact, he and his colleagues already have some preliminary ideas about how the debris should be buried. Vertical shafts, he explains, would be sunk in solid salt to a depth of about 2,000 ft. Horizontal tunnels would fan out from the bottom of the shafts. The wastes, packaged in corrosion-resistant containers, would be buried beneath the tunnel floors. Then the entire mine would be refilled with salt and sealed.

The chief danger: long after all record of the radioactive crypts has vanished, someone may accidentally intrude into the dome. *—By Frederic Golden. Reported by David S. Jackson/Chicago and Robert C. Wurmstedt/Baton Rouge*

On Weeks Island, La., workmen convert salt mine into oil-storage facility

Telltale Stars

Finding the oldest galaxies

They look like faint, random smudges on a photographic plate. But for scientists these markings hold a world of meaning. Last week University of California Astronomer Hyron Spinrad and his colleagues announced that the blurs represent four galaxies, great elliptical collections of stars, perhaps even larger than our own Milky Way. More astonishing, they are some 2 billion light-years farther off in space than any other galaxy ever discerned by telescope.

The observations came from the 120-in. reflector at the University of California's Lick Observatory, enhanced by computer technology. To study such extremely faint objects, astronomers had to focus their light onto a photo-imaging tube akin to the night-vision devices used by the military in Viet Nam. This electronic gadgetry strengthens the signals and then stores them as electronic data in a computer, while it subtracts any disturbing background glare. Eventually the astronomers accumulated enough light to produce spectra, or light signatures, for all four galaxies, but that took considerable doing. The image of just one of the galaxies, known as 3C 427.1, required 40 hours of telescope time on 23 separate nights over a period of three years.

The scientists' patience was amply rewarded. The wave lengths of celestial light had been drastically stretched, or shifted to the red end of the spectrum—an effect comparable to a familiar terrestrial one: the lowering of a horn's pitch as a car speeds away from an observer. From that yardstick, the astronomers calculated that the galaxies were receding from earth at more than half the speed of light, or better than 93,000 miles per sec. Since objects with higher velocities are presumed to be more distant in a universe that seems to be expanding at a uniform rate, scientists figured the galaxies were about 10 billion light-years away. That meant they were at least 10 billion years old.

Some quasars have even larger red shifts and perhaps are older and more distant. But quasars, which resemble stars in some ways and in some ways do not, are still so puzzling that astronomers prefer to turn to more familiar phenomena, like galaxies, in their explorations of the universe's evolution. The newly discovered galaxies, in fact, should be especially good time machines. Their light is much less bright than might be expected from a young galaxy. Astronomers speculate that the newfound galaxies may already have been 6 billion years old when the light left them, and thus could have been formed 16 billion years ago. That would date their creation only 2 billion years or so after the Big Bang, the great explosion in which, most astronomers believe, the universe was born. ■

Chia-Chia, crated for travel at the London Zoo, before the flight to New York

Environment

Enough with the Jokes, Already

This is serious, this business about perpetuating the species

Dear London friends,

Just arrived at Kennedy. The usual airline food—wilting bamboo shoots—and the usual pack of media jackals at the airport asking the usual dumb questions. What is it *really* like being a giant panda? Is it true that I've come all the way from London to have an interpanda relationship with what's-her-name at the National Zoo in Washington? Is it true that pandas know little about foreplay?

That last question really steamed me. It refers to a garbled report that panda sex takes place only in "an eyeblink." I thought of asking the bloke how long he and his wife take, but luckily I caught my tongue in time. Instead, I showed him the clipping from London saying that I do quite a bit of preliminary wrestling and light biting, just like Alex Comfort recommends. Except for the gentleman from the *Times*, who wanted to know my feelings about the Laffer Curve, everybody wants to talk about sex. All that locker-room chortling about my "mission of love," "my furry virility" and that old joke about "pandaring" by zoo officials.

Still, I've been lucky enough with the press so far. What with me leaving old Ching-Ching in London and coming here to make it with another guy's panda, they could have blown it up into some kind of jet-set panda-swapping scandal. The London papers verified my story that Ching-Ching hasn't been "in the mood" for over a year—the old headache routine, though in fairness they found she was suffering from peritonitis. What's a virile guy like me supposed to do? We're winning the war of words in D.C. too. Ling-Ling—that's my new love object—got *her* keeper to say that Hubby Hsing-Hsing is "just plain inept," and I like the Washington keeper's rugged sports metaphor, that Hsing-Hsing has to avoid hurt feelings like "a football player when he's taken off the team."

One thing I don't get is why humans think pandas don't know about sex. They keep explaining how it's done, and I half think they'll be showing me illustrated pillows next. O.K., there's the fiasco of Chi-Chi and An-An, who couldn't get it on at the Moscow Zoo a few years back. But would *you* be relaxed on a honeymoon in *Moscow?* As for Washington, a covey of environmentalists has been invited to meet me and have some wine and cheese. And after my first date with wing-ding, they're planning a round-the-clock watch by volunteer voyeurs.

Try not to look down on the humans. They must be nervous because there are only about a thousand of us left, and only 35 or 50 in their zoos. I just hope they don't turn this beautiful thing between me and ding-a-ling into something cheap. While we're at it, if there's a kid, I hope they don't call it Bing-Bing, Cong-Cong or any of those ca-ca double expressions. Why, just once, can't there be a panda named Archie or Bert? Got to go. We're pulling into Washington and a mob of Panda watchers are ready to pump me full of vitamins for the big day, probably some time in April or May. More about *that* later.

Yours,
Chia-Chia

Beyond Pleasure and Pain

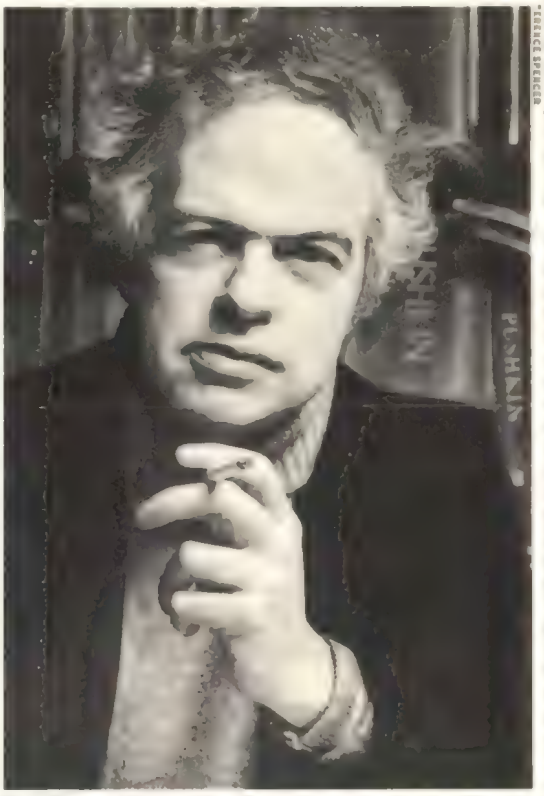
THE WHITE HOTEL *by D.M. Thomas; Viking; 274 pages; $12.95*

Blame literary fashion or the *Zeitgeist*, but novels seem to be growing ever less capacious. Those that find room for historical sweep or the intricacies of public affairs can usually squeeze in only pasteboard heroes and heroines. The ones that concentrate on fine-tuned psyches or dark nights of the soul generally admit the outside world as nothing more than a nuisance or irrelevant noise. Fewer and fewer new novels attempt to bridge this gap, to extend complex characters beyond the tight little domain of solipsism.

The White Hotel tries to do just that and, to a startling degree, succeeds. English Author D.M. Thomas, 46, creates an intensely private heroine to whom extraordinarily public things happen. During the course of her fictional life, Lisa Erdman, a modestly talented opera singer of Polish and Ukrainian descent, is forced to make two journeys that propel her around the perimeter of 20th century imagination. She is treated for sexual hysteria by Sigmund Freud in Vienna and, years later, murdered by Nazi soldiers at Babi Yar.

This bare premise sounds more than a little exploitative. It promises sex, violence, a woman stripped of her privacy, the sadistic pornography of totalitarianism. But such subjects should not be denied to serious writers simply because they are so often displayed cheaply. Thomas' treatment of his heroine and her fate easily transcends titillation. Those who come to his novel with prurient interests alone will quickly grow baffled and bored.

The novel opens with some apparently random letters from Freud and an associate, then shifts to a 13-page poem that reads like a dream fugue of eroticism and premonitions of doom. A woman and a faceless lover fetch up at "a white lakeside hotel" and make love incessantly and imaginatively. Meanwhile, other guests drown when a pleasure boat on the lake goes down in a sudden high wind; a wing of the hotel burns to the ground, killing many others. The poem is followed by an expanded prose version of the same fantasy. This time the woman's lover is Freud's son; the disasters expand to include a landslide and a cable car that plunges to earth. New guests regularly replace the dead at the white hotel. The woman's breasts flow with milk, which she gives freely to everyone: "She wondered if she had grown obsessed with sex."



D.M. Thomas: Perhaps Freud's newfangled methods will help?

She confides this fear to her lover: "And if I'm not thinking about sex, I'm thinking about death."

The poem and its prose companion, it then turns out, have been given to Freud by Lisa Erdman, their author and his patient. She is suffering from shortness of breath and debilitating pain in her left breast and left ovary. Conventional medical treatment circa 1919 has failed to cure her. Perhaps Freud's newfangled methods will help?

The story of Lisa's psychoanalysis is told by Freud himself. Thomas' imitation of a Freudian case history is uncannily accurate and convincing. It has the same whodunit intensity of the originals, the same bristling of symbols, the same gentle prodding to make the patient reveal more than she wants to know. Though Lisa resists him at many turns, Freud traces her problem back to a scene she accidentally stumbled across in childhood: a *ménage à trois* involving her uncle, her mother and her aunt. Lisa does not accept her analyst's conclusion that she is a homosexual, but the sessions manage, as Freud hopes, to turn her "hysterical misery into common unhappiness."

Life and a late marriage take her ultimately to Kiev. She is there in 1941 when the Germans invade and order all Jews to board trains for Palestine. Half Jewish, Lisa accepts this opportunity to get her Jewish stepson out of the ghetto. Their true destination is a ravine that will serve as a mass grave. Their end is ghastly.

Except that, in this novel, they do not end. In the final chapter, Lisa and her stepson arrive at a place that might be Palestine. Refugees are streaming in, including friends whom Lisa thought dead. Oddly, Freud, who died in 1939, is there too, as is her mother, who perished in a hotel fire decades earlier. The two women walk and talk calmly about the mother's infidelities and the daughter's response, so many years ago. Their milk flows. They are happy, beyond pleasure and pain.

Thomas' conclusion is audacious, yet it seems exactly right for all that has gone before. Given the many mysteries in Lisa's life, the last one is almost commonplace. *The White Hotel* has its flaws. The break between Lisa the patient and Lisa the victim is too abrupt; she seems transformed less by analysis than by the demands of her author's design. But this novel is a reminder that fiction can amaze as well as inform, that an imaginative leap can sometimes take flight. Thomas' talent almost matches his worthwhile ambition: to fuse the dreams of self with the nightmare of history. —*By Paul Gray*

Excerpt

"During the night, the bodies settled. A hand would adjust, by a fraction, causing another's head to turn slightly. Features imperceptibly altered. 'The trembling of the sleeping night,' Pushkin called it; only he was referring to the settling of a house.

The soul of man is a far country, which cannot be approached or explored. Most of the dead were poor and illiterate. But every single one of them had dreamed dreams, seen visions and had amazing experiences, even the babes in arms (perhaps especially the babes in arms) . . . If a Sigmund Freud had been listening and taking notes from the time of Adam, he would still not fully have explored even a single group, even a single person."

Happy Hominid

LUCY: THE BEGINNINGS OF HUMANKIND
by Donald C. Johanson and Maitland A. Edey; Simon & Schuster; 409 pages

Time: Nov. 30, 1974. Scene: the bleached and arid Afar Triangle of Ethiopia. Nothing about the desert seemed auspicious. Yet Anthropologist Donald Johanson had a premonition that this would be no ordinary morning. Shortly afterward, his hunch was ratified. The day was not merely unusual; it was epochal.

After cataloguing some fossils, Johanson introduced a colleague to a section labeled Locality 162. They came across an arm bone, then other parts from the same creature. By happenstance, they had unearthed a find that would alter the accepted view of man's origins.

Most anthropological theory is based upon fragmentary evidence: a femur here, an incisor there. But what Johanson found needed no jigsaw reconstruction. The collection of dozens of bones was literally the skeleton in Homo sapiens' closet. Nicknamed Lucy (because the Beatles' song *Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds* was playing on a tape machine in the expedition's camp), the original owner of the bones was not the most prepossessing of creatures. She stood about 3½ ft. tall and had a head the size of a softball. But despite her size, Lucy turned out to be a colossus. Careful dating of her remains showed that she had antedated Homo sapiens (who appeared 100,000 years ago) by some 3.5 million years. More important, the evidence she left behind showed that she walked on two legs, not on all fours. Lucy clearly was not an ape. And while she might not have been human, she was on her way.

Given this finding, even the most stolid anthropologist could construct a story of suspense and revelation. But Johanson

Australopithecus afarensis
The skeleton in Homo sapiens' closet.

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A Reading on the Future by the Editors of Time Incorporated

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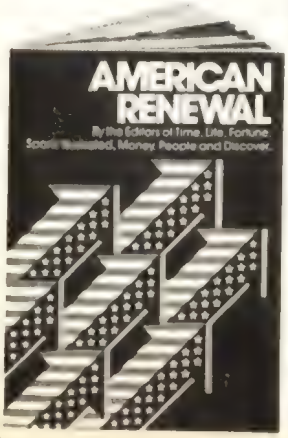

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MONEY PEOPLE DISCOVER

Books

and Co-Author Maitland Edey are no standard scientists. Like polished mystery writers, they trace the many searches for origins and review the rivalries that have driven such scholarly sleuths as Louis, Mary and Richard Leakey. Since Johanson is driven by the same combination of curiosity, daring and egotism, *Lucy* is both enlivened and marred by a lack of objectivity. Johanson is convinced that he is now in sole possession of the truth about human roots—and perhaps he is.

According to the authors, Lucy (*Australopithecus afarensis*) is important not merely because of her age but because of her posture. Until now, it was believed that humanity's ancestors developed large brains before they walked erect. Lucy shows that it was the other way around. Why was she vertical? Johanson speculates that it may all have had to do with the family. Upright, females' hands were free to care for infants; males could carry food. The roots of pair bonding were set; the old pattern of annual random coupling was obsolete. This amalgam of nature and nurture brought an endless mating season, happier hominids and, of course, more children—the Darwinian key to survival. Lucy and Co. may have been smaller and weaker than many of the animals they encountered, but when it came to reproducing, they were champions. That, suggest the authors, is why they and their kind prevailed. And it is why their all-too-human descendants are upright citizens today. —*By Peter Stoler*

Black Diamond

TAR BABY
by Toni Morrison
Knopf; 306 pages; $11.95

"You smell worse than anything I have ever smelled in my life."

"Shh," he whispered in her hair, "before I throw you out the window . . ."

"You rape me and they'll feed you to the alligators. Count on it, nigger. You good as dead right now."

"Rape? Why you little white girls always think somebody's trying to rape you?"

"White?" She was startled out of fury. "I'm not . . . you know I'm not white!"

"No? Then why don't you settle down and stop acting like it."

This exchange is the start of a love affair between a ship-jumping wife killer from rural Florida and a tawny beauty schooled at the Sorbonne and the modeling studios of Paris and New York.

"Son" Green and Jadine Childs meet in unusual circumstances. After stowing away on a yacht that docks at a small island in the Caribbean, Son hides in the house of Valerian Street, a retired candy manufacturer from Philadelphia. Street's wife Margaret, a faded Maine beauty queen, stumbles on the intruder in her closet. Her screams alarm the household.

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Says June Lockhart

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THE SALVATION ARMY

Books

THOMAS VICTOR

Toni Morrison

Touches of magic in the Caribbean.

Sydney, the family butler, procures the family pistol and investigates. He reappears with his quarry: a ragged black apparition in Rastafarian dreadlocks. Valerian offers the man a drink and invites him to eat the collapsed remains of a soufflé. Jadine, Sydney's visiting niece, stares at him with mink eyes.

Tar Baby, like the rabbit bait in the *Uncle Remus* tale, is the sort of novel one can get stuck on. The fox is the author Morrison, whose *Song of Solomon* (1977) won the National Book Critics Circle award for fiction, blends elements of racial identity, assimilation and Caribbean folklore with an old-fashioned lady-and-the-truck-driver romance. Can sophisticated Jadine and her black diamond in the rough make it, even after he has a haircut and borrows a Hickey Freeman suit? Or will Ryk, a rich somebody, lure her back to Paris by sending her a sealskin coat she cannot wear in the tropics?

It takes 200 pages to find out, though not before Morrison forcefully diverts attention from her love story to some serious conflicts in the Street house. Valerian and Margaret do not share a bedroom. He spends most of his time in a greenhouse tending feeble plants that might flourish if left outside in the trade breezes. Ghostly pale, Margaret lies in the shade and believes that her son Michael will finally visit her. In the kitchen, Ondine, Sydney's wife, cooks Main Line specialties and fumes about the unreasonable demands of her boss's wife. Ondine also harbors a dark secret about her.

She spills it during Christmas dinner, the time of the year when servants and masters sit down together. "You cut your baby up," shouts Ondine. "Made him bleed for you. For fun you did it . . . You crazy white freak." Margaret, it appears, used to stick pins in her infant son and burn him with cigarettes. This may suggest one reason why he never visits her.

Son Green is the obvious catalyst who precipitates suspended emotions and passions. The author wisely does not explain too much. She depends on a ripe, sometimes overripe, prose style to create atmospheres in which strange things are possible. The Caribbean, with its buried history of slave trade and uprisings, its lingering essense of negritude, is a good stage. Morrison attempts to evoke island life with touches of the magic realism that made *Song of Solomon* so successful. It does not quite work in *Tar Baby*. In fact, the strongest sense of place is conveyed in a scene set in New York City, where the author is an editor for a leading publishing firm. —*By R.Z. Sheppard*

Editors' Choice

FICTION: The Book of Laughter and Forgetting, *Milan Kundera* • A Book of Women Poets from Antiquity to Now, *edited by Aliki Barnstone and Willis Barnstone* • The Collected Stories of Elizabeth Bowen, *Elizabeth Bowen* • The Company of Women, *Mary Gordon* Housekeeping, *Marilynne Robinson* The Lone Pilgrim, *Laurie Colwin* Other People's Worlds, *William Trevor*

NONFICTION: American Dreams, *Studs Terkel* • Faces in My Time, *Anthony Powell* • Gjon Mili: Photographs & Recollections • The Hour of Our Death, *Philippe Ariès* • Paper Money, *Adam Smith* • The Terrible Secret, *Walter Laqueur* • Walt Whitman, *Justin Kaplan*

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. The Covenant, *Michener (1 last week)*
2. Brain, *Cook (2)*
3. Firestarter, *King (3)*
4. Rage of Angels, *Sheldon (4)*
5. Answer as a Man, *Caldwell (5)*
6. The Key to Rebecca, *Follett (6)*
7. Unfinished Tales, *Tolkien (7)*
8. The Aviator, *Gann (9)*
9. Come Pour the Wine, *Freeman (8)*
10. The Fifth Horseman, *Collins & Lapierre (10)*

NONFICTION

1. Richard Simmons' Never-Say-Diet Book, *Simmons (1)*
2. Nice Girls Do, *Kassorla (2)*
3. Cosmos, *Sagan (3)*
4. You Can Negotiate Anything *Cohen (8)*
5. The Last Mafioso, *Demaris (10)*
6. Crisis Investing, *Casey (5)*
7. Nothing Down, *Allen*
8. The Sky's the Limit, *Dyer (9)*
9. The Coming Currency Collapse *Smith (6)*
10. Betty Crocker's International Cookbook *(7)*

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The Great Black and White Secret

In James Baldwin's first novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1952), there is a brief early scene in which Baldwin's 14-year-old black hero, John Grimes, takes a headlong run down a hill of melting snow: "At the bottom of the hill, where the ground abruptly leveled off onto a gravel path, he nearly knocked down an old white man with a white beard, who was walking very slowly and leaning on his cane. They both stopped, astonished, and looked at one another. John struggled to catch his breath and apologize, but the old man smiled. John smiled back. It was as though he and the old man had between them a great secret."

At least part of their great secret is that they both live in the same country. White and black have shared that secret for a long time now, and have done an efficient job of keeping it from each other. The smile that connected John Grimes and the old man, while pleasant enough for the occasion, was historically speaking a lapse of judgment, a slip of the heart. If Baldwin had been writing news instead of fiction, John might never have thought to apologize, and the old man might have swung his cane like a war club.

Now that would make a scene one could more easily believe in. After all, it repeats itself constantly one way or another these days—black and white giving each other the fish-eye in elevators; making great sudden arcs on the sidewalk; or even less subtle, the dinner party conversation between black and white that zeroes in on The Black and White Question like a surface-to-air missile. The lily-white athletic club. The coal-black radio station. It is odd to think that this is where the civil rights movement of the 1960s has wound up, or down. But as any strict constructionist will adjure, the civil rights laws were enacted to allow for equal chances, not equal smiles; so it should hardly shock the system to learn that, on the bulk of the evidence, official and personal, the American social scene is less mixed now than ever. In the March issue of FORTUNE, Roger Wilkins sees blacks and whites separated by a widening "social chasm." Recent reports of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and of the National Urban League concur.

The formal causes of this separation are no great secret to anyone—busing, housing, crime, the normal distances between the too rich and the too poor. Terms like white flight and steering have become so comfortable in the national argot that one almost forgets that they are weapons. Affirmative action has helped split black and white as well, particularly black and blue collar and black and Jew, on the issue of quotas. Then too there are the white lies told daily in the universities by faint-hearted, if well-meaning, professors writing false recommendations for unprepared black students for jobs in which they are bound to fail; the professors then are lost in dismay when the students fail and resent the lie. All these things and more, including white racism, whose unredeemed resilience may be read in the revival of the Klan, or scrawled above the nation's urinals, where it belongs.

Yet, even if all the familiar impediments to social integration were suddenly to be lifted from the country, few nowadays believe that black and white would rush toward each other automatically, unhesitantly. The differences between black and white America run awfully deep. And the deepest of them are not found in surveys or in statistical studies, or even in the most open conversations. Where they do crop up, as they always have, is where they are taken least seriously: in the fiction and poems of black writers, where as art they may be both revealed and camouflaged simultaneously. That passage in *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, for instance. Moving as it is, it makes the point that despite their shared smile and great secret, the black boy and the white man do not speak or meet again.

A similar scene occurs in Chester Himes' *If He Hollers Let Him Go* (1945). Himes' hero, Bob Jones, takes his girlfriend to an exclusive restaurant, where the waiters stick them off in a corner and where other customers ogle the black couple as if they were birds in a zoo. Jones' girlfriend is mortified. He trembles between panic and rage. Looking around the room, he sees a white ensign and a "very blond girl" sitting with an older couple, evidently the parents of one of them. Jones and the ensign have been casually admiring each other's girlfriend, and when their eyes meet neither shows hostility, "only a mild surprise and a sharp interest." Forgetting his situation momentarily, Jones suddenly has a "wistful desire to be the young ensign's friend." Then he catches the "frosty glare" of one of the elders at the ensign's table, which kills the moment and restores reality. That scene could be written today.

To use art as evidence for arguments about the real world is a tricky business because artists are supreme individuals as well as supreme liars. Yet if one surveys the body of black American writing from Reconstruction to the present, a remarkably consistent picture of black America, of America itself, springs to life. The mythology of that literature is a historical fact, the nation's worst—slavery. Besides the moral damage that slavery did the nation, it also created a cultural framework at once so distorted and solid that we live within it still.

Its central distortion was that the enslaved man was not a man; he was the opposite of a man, whatever that might be. His very color was a sign of deviation, a sign to be carried by generations after him, like the mark of Cain. There are a dozen scenes in black American novels where a child is going along happily until someone (often a schoolteacher) points out the "difference" in his life, which is also the difference of his future. At that revelation the child flees in panic to a mirror in order to stare at himself, to see himself for the first time as the white world sees him, as something "other," a vision of the negative.

From that point on, his life becomes a series of oppositions. A young black girl like Janie of Zora Neale Hurston's novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) may see that she is beautiful, but how can black be beautiful if the standard of beauty is to be white, blond, fair? How can black be good if cleanliness

Illustrations for TIME by Eugene Mihaesco

(whiteness) is next to godliness, if Satan is the Prince of Darkness, if there are blackguards and blackmail, black thoughts and black deeds? To be in the dark is one thing, but to see the light is quite another. Images of whiteness can be terrible too, of course (the white whale, whited sepulchers, death on a pale horse), but these are fairly concrete things compared with the general designation of black as the color of evil or chaos. Young John Grimes is named for dirt. He observes the dirt around him, and recalls the book of *Revelations (22: 11)*: "He who is filthy, let him be filthy still."

All this is kid stuff compared to the final opposition, which is to be dehumanized completely. Slavery at its worst did that job most efficiently, but when slavery was no longer available, something else evidently had to take its place. In his autobiography, *Black Boy* (1945), Richard Wright tells a story of himself as a teen-ager working in an optical factory in Memphis. Some local white men tried repeatedly to goad Wright and Harrison, another black boy who worked for a rival company, into a fight by telling each that the other hated him. When that lie failed, the men offered the boys $5 apiece to step into the ring. The boys hesitated, but eventually accepted, for the money, agreeing between themselves to pull punches. On a Saturday afternoon in a basement before a frenzied white audience, Wright and Harrison went at each other, stripped to the waist. They jabbed faintly at first; then one hit too hard; then the other. Finally they had to be pulled apart, having beaten each other to the point of exhaustion. After the fight, full of shame, they would not speak. What the white men had originally contended was so after all. The boys actually did hate each other. The lie became the truth.

When lies come true, there are not too many places where one can get a grip on life. The idea of time in black writing, for example, of time as an index of progress, or as a context of history, has either no meaning or a dangerous one (Ralph Ellison's 1952 novel, *Invisible Man*, struggles to escape from time). The idea of Christianity is also suspect because the church, while an instrument of salvation, is also an instrument of social containment, a taming device. The idea of home is elusive and treacherous, with one's home being traced either to a ghetto or to a Southern plantation or, as in Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* (1977), into the past, where there are more dreams than roots. Is the U.S. itself home? That is no easy problem for a people from whom much of the country's bounty has been withheld, yet who are far more native sons than most whites.

For its part, the white world, which both made and denied that home, has behaved within its own set of distortions. Out of its abiding guilt it has created a code of self-protecting lies, including a sexual phantasmagoria about blacks that has resulted in everything from cheap jokes to lynchings. (In black novels, heroes fear the accusation of rape far more than that of murder.) Guilt has also created stereotypes. In a poem on the comic actor Willie Best, LeRoi Jones listed the unlaughable characteristics: "Lazy/ Frightened/ Thieving/ Very potent sexually/ Scars/ Generally inferior/ But natural rhythms." White America has also created itself—a world that, when depicted in a novel like William Melvin Kelley's *dem* (1967), comes off as pallid, literally colorless, and trapped. In *Drylongso*, an oral history collected by John Langston Gwaltney and published last July, Jackson Jordan Jr., a nearly 90-year-old black North Carolinian, puts it to white people rather kindly: "Pretending to know everything or just pretending to be better than you know you are must be a terrible strain on anybody."

As for the strain on the black man and woman, it shows in various ways. Paul Laurence Dunbar, the black dialect poet, explained, "We Wear the Mask." That is one way of surviving; as a con man, a common figure in black fiction. Another way is to "disappear," to pass for white or otherwise become anonymous. The *Invisible Man* disappeared altogether, forging a life of an existential fact: since he was invisible to the white world anyway, why not go whole hog? The third way—separation—brings America back from fiction to reality. In a sense, separation often seems the most reasonable choice. After all, black Americans have a richly independent culture quite apart from the one that has been imposed upon them, a culture made up of its own music, language, a common past. With a history of such guilt and hate between them, why should black and white persist in a sham? Why should they not go their separate-but-equal ways?

In fact they should, if there were such a thing as being able to choose one's friends and lovers with absolute freedom. The lingering question, however, is: Are these choices actually made freely, or are they so encumbered by past associations and events that separatism is merely expedient? Certainly it is safer and more convenient for black and white to retain their color lines. But if these lines are retained not by choice but rather by fear, then the acts of division are not freely made. Indeed, they are as unnatural and distorted as anything that ever characterized the relationship.

Whether blacks and whites actually have something to gain from social integration is yet to be proved. It is all very well to mumble about the glorious prospect of cultural exchange, but no one is sure that such exchanges breed enhancement. A loftier argument is that the nation, as a whole, would be improved. Perhaps. The old democratic vista of Whitman and Emerson, the transcendentalist democracy of one for one and one for all sounds quite fine; it always has. Since that goal has never been achieved, however, one may argue that it is simply another tenet of American hypocrisy, or, less harshly, that it is a goal incompatible with the realities of human nature.

Still, it is also human nature to underestimate the realities of human nature. The fact is that fragments of social integration are achieved every day, like it or not. They occur every time black and white happen to catch each other without armor—white not wearing its white, nor black its black—in those elevators, at those dinner parties, at work—in careless stumbles into unguarded affection, like Baldwin's pair. Despite the "social chasm," those moments may now be occurring more frequently than ever, though they fail to be recorded. Eleanor Holmes Norton, former head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, calls ours the "cross-over generation." Could be. The cross-over would certainly be worth a try.

Yet for that to happen, it will take not only time and patience but a certain alertness. A black boy smiles at a white man who smiles back. The moment is construed as accidental. It is not accidental. It is their essential relationship, only made to appear accidental by cruel history, fears and stupidity. The boy who smiles at the man recognizes him; recognizes the man recognizing the boy. Either they can choose to treat that act as a mere acknowledgment, as a separate-but-equal nod, or they can elaborate on it—dress it up, fill it out, talk. They know perfectly well what life is like when they do not do that; that is no great secret. The great secret is that they may need each other.

—By Roger Rosenblatt

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